

CONTENTS

Celtic Coins from the Romano-British Temple at Harlow, Essex <i>by</i> D. F. ALLEN	1
The Vatican Hoard of Anglo-Saxon Pennies <i>by</i> M. A. O'DONOVAN	7
A Probable Fourth Kentish Mint for Æthelstan <i>by</i> R. H. M. DOLLEY	30
A Small Parcel of <i>First Hand</i> Pennies of Æthelred II from the 1863 Ipswich Hoard <i>by</i> R. H. M. DOLLEY	34
The Repercussions on Chester's Prosperity of the Viking Descent on Cheshire in 980 <i>by</i> R. H. M. DOLLEY <i>and</i> MISS E. J. PIRIE	39
Some Mis-attributed <i>Fleur-de-lis</i> Coins of Harold I <i>by</i> R. H. M. DOLLEY	45
An Eighteenth-Century Manx Find of Early Scottish Sterlings <i>by</i> IAN STEWART	48
Some 'Short Cross' Questions <i>by</i> JOHN D. BRAND	57
Norwich or Northampton—A 'Short Cross' Problem <i>by</i> F. ELMORE JONES	70
The Coinage of Richard Olof <i>by</i> DAVID WILMER DYKES	73
A Fourteenth-Century Deposit from Hull <i>by</i> D. M. METCALF	80
The 1961 Find of Fourteenth-Century Silver Coins from Mareham-le-Fen in Lincolnshire <i>by</i> R. H. M. DOLLEY	83
Two Neglected Northumbrian Hoards of late Fourteenth-Century Gold Coins <i>by</i> R. H. M. DOLLEY	90
A Fourteenth-Century Hoard of Scottish Groats from Balleny Townland, Co. Down <i>by</i> W. A. SEABY <i>and</i> B. H. I. H. STEWART	94
The Witchingham, Norfolk, XV–XVIth Century Hoard (1805) <i>by</i> C. E. BLUNT <i>and</i> R. H. M. DOLLEY	107
Burgundian Double Patards in late Medieval England <i>by</i> PETER SPUFFORD	110
The Origins of the English Sovereign and the Symbolism of the Closed Crown <i>by</i> PHILIP GRIERSON	118
The Southwark Mint 1545–1551 <i>by</i> C. E. CHALLIS, B.A.	135
The Only Gold Coins issued in Ireland 1646 <i>by</i> WILLIAM O'SULLIVAN, M.A., D.ECON.SC.	141
Hoard Reports: Elizabeth I–Charles I <i>by</i> J. P. C. KENT	151
Four XVIIIth–XXth Century Hoard Reports <i>by</i> M. M. ARCHIBALD	156
The Guernsey Eight Doubles of 1864 <i>by</i> D. L. F. SEALY	164
 MISCELLANEA	
Coins of the Sussex Mints: Addendum and Corrigendum <i>by</i> HORACE H. KING	168
Four 'New' Coins of the Huntingdon Mint <i>by</i> F. ELMORE JONES	168
Two Further Coins of Henry I from Llantrithyd <i>by</i> R. H. M. DOLLEY	169

Two Interesting Site Finds <i>by</i> R. A. G. CARSON	171
Another Small Parcel from the Great Find at Eccles <i>by</i> J. D. BRAND	172
Two Small late Seventeenth-Century Hoards from Co. Tyrone <i>by</i> W. A. SEABY	173
A 1918 Silver Hoard from Lurgan, Co. Armagh <i>by</i> W. A. SEABY	173
Reviews	176
Obituary	181
Proceedings and Exhibitions	183
Presidential Address	188
List of Members	196
Index	204

LIST OF PLATES

Celtic Coins from the Romano-British Temple at Harlow	V
The Vatican Hoard of Anglo-Saxon Pennies	VI-VII
<i>First Hand</i> Pennies of Æthelred II from the Ipswich Hoard	I
<i>Hand</i> Coins of Æthelred II of the Chester Mint	VIII
Harold I <i>Fleur-de-lis</i> type	IX
Norwich or Northampton—A 'Short Cross' Problem	XII
Mareham-le-Fen Hoard	III-IV
Gold Coins of Edward III from the Brinkburn Priory Find	II
The Fourteenth-Century Balleny Hoard of Scottish Groats	X-XI
The Guernsey Eight Doubles of 1864	XII
Miscellanea—The Huntingdon Mint	VII

CELTIC COINS FROM THE ROMANO-BRITISH TEMPLE AT HARLOW, ESSEX

By D. F. ALLEN

THE existence of a Romano-British temple at Harlow, Essex, in the Stort valley, has been known for many years. The site was partly excavated by Miller Christy in 1927.¹ A full excavation of the temple and some of the ancillary buildings has now been financed and carried out during the seasons of 1962, 1963 and 1964 by the West Essex Archaeological Group under the direction of its Chairman, Dr. N. E. France, and its Honorary Secretary, Miss B. M. Gobel. It has been positively established that the temple had a pre-Roman phase. The coins of that phase, found during the excavations, well merit separate publication. I am indebted to Dr. France and Miss Gobel for permission to give this account of their finds, as also to the Harlow Development Corporation to whom, as owners of the site, the coins belong. I am also grateful to the Institute of Archaeology of the University of London for the excellent photographs I reproduce. (Pl. V).

The Celtic coins were not found together, but scattered over the site. The great majority were found stratified in a Belgic layer through which the foundations of the Roman temple were cut; a few were found in material disturbed or re-used in Roman times. It is probable that the coins, as a group, represent the remains of offerings or deposits at some shrine preceding the Roman temple on the site and spread over a considerable period of years. I shall not attempt to anticipate the excavators' report on the archaeological significance of the finds and will confine myself to the coins themselves, which are sufficiently remarkable.

In all 42 Celtic coins were found, to which may be added a single one found in the 1927 excavations, making a total of 43. No less than 11 of these were of gold and there were also 2 gold-plated forgeries. In addition there were 2 silver and 28 bronze coins, some in exceptionally fine condition. It is rare to find any gold coins in excavations in this country; to have found this proportion is positively unique.

In addition there are records of 1 silver and 11 bronze Celtic coins found previously at unspecified points in Harlow. Some of these may well have come from the temple area.

Only 2 of the gold coins are staters, *nos.* 1-2; they are of the common uniface type described as Gallo-Belgic E,² Mack 27-27a.³ This type was undoubtedly first minted on the continent, but suspicions that similar coins were later struck in this country have been strengthened by the Haslemere Hoard.⁴ The Harlow coins are not from the same dies as any of the Haslemere coins, but the broken up form of pseudo-legend visible on *no.* 1 implies that they come late in the sequence. This means that the coins should probably be dated after Caesar's invasion of Britain.

¹ *Antiquaries Journal*, VIII, 306.

² References to this classification are to S. S. Frere, *Problems of the Iron Age in Southern Britain*, 1958, which includes a paper by myself on *The Origins of Coinage in Britain, a Reappraisal*. The find spots subsequently referred to are drawn from this paper.

³ References to coin types are to R. P. Mack, *The Coinage of Ancient Britain*, 1953, or second edition, 1964. The latter illustrates several Harlow coins, viz *nos.* 73a = my 13, 134a = my 9, 222a = my 22 and 274a = my 14.

⁴ *British Numismatic Journal*, 1962, 1-7.

Of the 11 quarter staters, 5, including one of the plated forgeries, belong to a group very well known from the finds at Selsey. The general description British QC includes several varieties; *nos.* 3–6 are similar to Mack 65 or 70, but the commoner variety at Selsey, Mack 71 or 76, is absent. Since it is clear that the Harlow group as a whole tends to be late, we may perhaps conclude that Mack 65 and 70 follow after Mack 71 and 76. The obverse dies of two of the Harlow coins, *nos.* 5–6, are breaking up. The horse on *no.* 7, a new variant, otherwise generally similar, shows a touch of naturalism with the implication of a relatively late date. *Nos.* 3–7 were presumably minted on the south coast, and they may be dated to the late third or early fourth quarter of the 1st century B.C.

The 6 remaining quarter staters, *nos.* 8–13, undoubtedly all belong north of the Thames, and probably to the last quarter of the century. *Nos.* 8–10, which include the other plated forgery, supply a missing coin which was to be expected, namely the quarter stater corresponding to the Whaddon Chase type of stater, British LA, Mack 133–135. The three examples all differ in detail, and the differences correspond approximately with the known varieties of the stater. A fairly extensive issue seems to be implied, and more specimens are sure to turn up later. Apart from the great hoard, which was confined to staters, the type is not a particularly common one.

The next quarter stater, *no.* 11, is a beautiful example of a known but scarce type, belonging to the Home counties north of the Thames, British LB, Mack 76. This quarter stater is one of the immediate successors of the Whaddon Chase type and we can now link it with another. *Nos.* 12–13 are two examples from the same pair of dies of a new quarter stater closely akin to *No.* 11, but with a different arrangement of mostly similar elements. The two specimens were found cupped one into the other, as, no doubt, they were originally deposited in the temple area.

The 2 silver coins are each of interest, though one, *no.* 15, is in poor condition. The obverse is obscure, but the reverse has a horse to the left with a feather beneath, like Mack 441, of which the only specimen recorded is from Icklingham, Suffolk. *No.* 14, however, which is in magnificent condition, is a new silver type, clearly corresponding to the well known bronze coins in the British LX group, Mack 273–4; one of these bronze coins has been found previously at Harlow. The connection between the silver and bronze obverses is unmistakable; but the ring and feather ornament below the horse on the reverse may provide some link also with *no.* 15. A similar ornament is incorporated in the obverse pattern of the British LX quarter stater, Mack 270. The Harlow silver coins, therefore, help to bring some unity to the difficult group provisionally classed together as British LX, which forms a bridge between the latest uninscribed and the earliest inscribed coins in the Home counties north of the Thames.

There are less novelties in the 28 bronze coins, which are, however, in exceptionally good condition. All are inscribed. Only 5 belong to the Tasciovanus–Verulamium group, less than might have been expected near the Lea Valley. *Nos.* 18–20 have Tasciovanus legends. *Nos.* 16 and 17 have Rues legends. Verulamium legends occur with both, on *nos.* 16, 17 and 19. A silver coin combining the Dias and Verulamium legends has also come from Harlow, as have bronze coins either with the Verulamium legend alone or no legend. Thus, though relatively few in number, the coins of this group found at Harlow are representative of the whole range and include examples of all known bronze legends. The prominence of coins with the legend Rues is noticeable, and one of these, *no.* 17, establishes for the first time beyond doubt that the reverse legend is VIR. *No.* 20 is a new example of Mack 175, a scarce type with the legend TASCI, best known hitherto from an example in the Hunterian Museum.

The most extensive series of coins from Harlow consists of the bronzes of Cunobelinus. There are 23 excavation coins, to which may be added 7 otherwise recorded, 30 in all. Analysis of these coins has led to some interesting and, I believe, so far unsuspected conclusions.

Cunobelinus' bronze coins fall into 3 groups. Firstly there are the coins, nearly all rare, which have a somewhat primitive appearance, often indistinguishable in general character from the coins of Tasciovanus. In addition to the abbreviated name of Cunobelinus a number of these have abbreviated Camulodunum legends. These may be listed as Mack 220, 223, 229, 232 and 233; others are Mack 245, which has a Tasciovanus legend on the reverse, and Mack 247 the reverse legend on which cannot yet be read. Mack 224, with the Camulodunum legend alone, is to be associated with the silver Mack 214, having the Cunobelinus legend alone. So far as find spots are recorded, these bronze coins occur indifferently at Colchester and elsewhere in Cunobelinus' territories.

The remainder of Cunobelinus' bronze coins are of types which show marked Roman influence on subject and treatment. They fall into 2 groups, those having a legend proclaiming Cunobelinus as the son of Tasciovanus and those with the mint name Camulodunum. What has emerged from studying the Harlow coins is that, with only minor exceptions, the coins with the Tasciovanus legend are found outside Colchester, while those with the Camulodunum legend are found at the capital itself. The coins characteristically found outside Colchester are Mack 242, 243, 244, 246, 248 and 249 (though Mack 242 and 248 are not positively scarce at Colchester). The corresponding coins characteristically found at Colchester are Mack 225, 250, 251, 252, 253 and 260. The same contrast is particularly striking between Mack 221, with a full Cunobelinus legend on the obverse, found outside Colchester, and Mack 230 with a full Camulodunum legend on the obverse, found at Colchester.

To this division there must be added two types with the Camulodunum legend, both of which have a gryphon on the obverse and a figure of Victory on the reverse. One of these, Mack 222, is found basically outside Colchester, the other, Mack 231, inside. Moreover, there is a variant of Mack 222, of which an example has been found in the Harlow excavations, *no.* 22, Mack 222a, the main difference of which is that it omits the Camulodunum legend.

No silver coins of Cunobelinus have been found at Harlow, but the three way split between the primitive types, those with Tasciovanus and those with Camulodunum legends is equally applicable and the distribution follows the same pattern. I have tried to see whether any comparable division can be traced amongst the gold coins, but have so far been unable to obtain any clear results.

No coin of Cunobelinus in any metal combines both the Tasciovanus and Camulodunum legends.

The Harlow coins well illustrate these divisions. Of the 23 excavation coins, only 5 have the Camulodunum legend. *No.* 21, Mack 229, belongs to the first group, while *nos.* 40-43, Mack, 251, 253 and 260a (2), are the sole representatives of the main group with this legend. One coin, *no.* 22, Mack 222a, only has the Cunobelinus legend. The remaining 17, *nos.* 23-39, Mack 221(1), 242(2), 243(2), 244(4), 248(4), 249(4), all have Tasciovanus legends as well. The 7 coins of Cunobelinus previously recorded from Harlow are all of types found in the excavations and exactly reproduce the pattern. Thus, out of the total of 30 coins of Cunobelinus found at Harlow, only 7 have Camulodunum legends, while 22 have Tasciovanus legends. Of those habitually found outside Colchester, only Mack 246 is missing.

I do not think these facts necessarily point to a conclusion that the coins of Cunobelinus were struck in two mints, but they do seem to indicate that it became the deliberate policy of Cunobelinus, through his coin legends, to emphasise outside the capital that he was Tasciovanus' legitimate successor, while inside Colchester that he alone was master. We cannot detect this division in what seem to be the earlier coins of Cunobelinus; nor do we understand the coinage of Tasciovanus himself and of Verulamium well enough yet to assess the significance of the various legends there. But it does begin to look as if there is a concentration of legends other than the name of Tasciovanus at Harlow, and this too may have some meaning.

We may now put together the story of the Harlow temple, so far as the Celtic coins found there can tell it. The finds of gold staters (Gallo-Belgic E) probably indicate that offerings were being made there by early in the last quarter of the 1st century B.C. At that stage or soon after there appears to have been some link between Harlow and the kingdom of the Atrebates on the south coast (British QC), which later disappears. Next comes a clear link between Harlow and the Catuvellauni or their neighbours (British LA, LB, LX). From the start of inscribed bronze coinage in this country, it became the practice to make offerings of these coins, and this continued throughout the reigns of Tasciovanus (and associated names) in Verulamium and Cunobelinus in Camulodunum. Harlow was far enough from Colchester not to be dominated by the local currency of the capital, and lay in an area where Cunobelinus preferred to stress his continuity with the former master of Verulamium. If coins are any guide, therefore, despite the number of coins of Cunobelinus found, the associations of Harlow with Verulamium could well prove more intimate than those with Colchester itself.

Since this was written I have had the opportunity of studying 15 coins found in 1963-4 in excavations at Verulamium and comparing them with the 8 coins found in the Wheeler excavations of 1930-4. Of these 23 coins, 3 only were of the Tasciovanus period, one with the Tasciovanus legend (Mack 175), one with the Verulamium legend (Mack 179) and one with no legend (Mack 174). The 20 remaining coins were of Cunobelinus and of these only two had the Camulodunum legend (Mack 252). All the remainder had the Tasciovanus legend, (1 Mack 221, 5 Mack 244, 6 Mack 248 and 6 Mack 249).

It will be seen that this pattern is virtually identical with that of the bronze coins found at Harlow and reinforces some of the conclusions I have reached above. The commonest types at Harlow were also the commonest at Verulamium. It does now begin to seem probable that Cunobelinus coins with the Tasciovanus legend were minted at Verulamium, in which case the very large number of coin moulds which have turned up there in excavation might be as much the rubbish of Cunobelinus' as of Tasciovanus' mint.

Time has again slipped and the 36 bronze coins found in the 1965 excavations near the temple site are now available. They again repeat the pattern, as will be seen from the summary list below. There are no unpublished varieties, but the list includes types new to Harlow. A further publication may be worthwhile when the excavations are finally concluded.

LIST OF COINS FOUND IN EXCAVATIONS, 1962-1964

(g = grams; sg. = specific gravity)

GOLD, UNINSCRIBED

Staters, Gallo-Belgic E, Uniface Type

1. Mack 27, 6.09g., 10.5 sg.
2. Mack 27, 6.10g., 10.9 sg.

Quarter-staters, British QC, Selsey Types

3. Mack 65/70, 1.31g.
4. Mack 65/70, 1.31g., 13.1 sg.
5. Mack 65/70, 1.26g., 11.5 sg.
6. Mack 65/70, 0.64g., fragment missing, plated forgery, 7.1 sg.
7. Variant of Mack 65/70 or 63/71; the locks of hair are inverted and the horse has a mane; 1.32g.

Quarter Staters, British LA, Whaddon Chase Types.

8. Compare stater Mack 133, 1.20g.
9. Compare stater Mack 134, 1.26g., 14.0 sg., (Mack 134a).
10. Compare stater Mack 133?, 0.73g., plated forgery.

Quarter-staters, British LB, post-Whaddon Chase Types.

11. Mack 76, 1.23g., 13.7 sg.
12. Variant of Mack 76, compare Mack 73; 3-petal flower below horse; 1.25g., 13.3s.g.
13. Same size as no. 12, 1.20 g., 12.5 sg., (Mack 73a).

SILVER, UNINSCRIBED

New British LX Types

14. *Obv.* head right; *rev.* horse left, similar to Mack 274, with feather below; the silver coin corresponding to Mack 273-4; 1.14g., 7.6 sg., (Mack 274a).
15. *Obv.* uncertain; *rev.* horse left, similar to Mack 441 with feather below; compare also no. 14; 1.36g.

BRONZE, INSCRIBED

Tasciovanus—Verulamium Group

16. Mack 189, 1.63g. RVII/
17. Mack 190, 2.34g. VIR/RVEI
18. Mack 169, 2.63g. TAS/
19. Mack 177, 1.26g. TASC/VIR
20. Mack 175, 1.53g.; horse left on reverse. [TA]SCI. The full legend is given by the example in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow.

Cunobelinus—Early Type with Camulodunum Legend

21. Mack 229, 2.32g. CAMV/CVNO.

Cunobelinus—Early Type with Cunobelinus Legend only.

22. Variant of Mack 222 (Mack 222a), c.f. Evans XII, 13; *rev.* lion? in place of gryphon, ring ornament, no legend; 2.49g. CVN/. Note *obv.* and *rev.* interchanged.

Cunobelinus—Early Type with Tasciovanus Legend

23. Mack 221, 2.52g. CVNOBELINI/TASC.

Cunobelinus—Developed Types with Tasciovanus Legend

- 24-25. Mack 242, 2.43, 2.42g. CVNOBELINI/TASCIOVANI.F.
- 26-27. Mack 243, 2.63, 2.02g. CVNOBELINVS/TASCIOVANTI F.
- 28-31. Mack 244, 1.96, 2.30, 2.22, 2.08g. CVNOB/TASCIOVANTIS.
- 32-35. Mack 248, 1.86, 1.80, 2.57, 2.62g. CVNOBELINI/TASCIO.
- 36-39. Mack 249, 2.18, 2.22, 3.00, 2.34g. CVNO/TASCI.

Cunobelinus—Developed Types with Camulodunum Legend

40. Mack 251, 2.37g. CVNOBELIN/CAM.

41. Mack 253, 1.20g. CVNO/CAM.

42. Mack 260, 2.01g. CVNO/CAM.

43. Mack 260, 2.41g. CVNO/CAM.

This is the specimen found in the 1927 excavations and now in the British Museum.

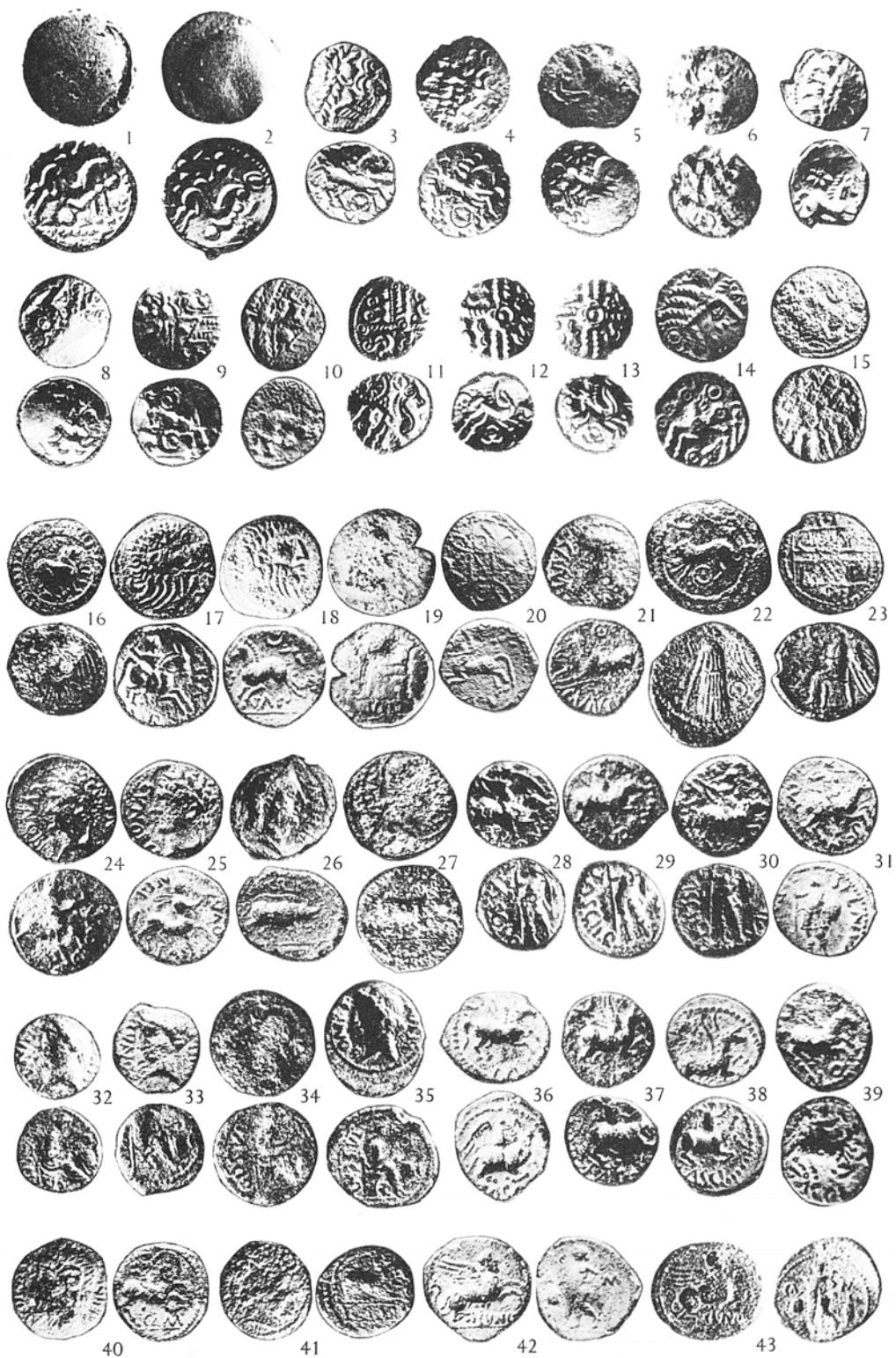
SUMMARY LIST OF COINS FOUND IN EXCAVATIONS, 1965

BRONZE	Total	36
<i>Tasciovanus—Verulamium group</i>		
Mack 169, 175, 177	3	
<i>Cunobelinus—Camulodunum Types</i>		
Mack 204 (Æ core of forgery of a quarter-stater).	1	
Mack 225, 250(2), 253(3), 260.	7	
<i>Cunobelinus—Types with Tasciovanus Legend</i>		
Mack 237 (Æ core of forgery of AR coin).	1	
Mack 221, 242, 243(2), 244(8), 245, 246(2), 248(5), 249(4).	24	

LIST OF COINS PREVIOUSLY RECORDED FROM HARLOW

Description	Metal	Reference	Location	Legend
'Tasciovanus'	AR	Mack 188	BM	/DIAS CO
	Æ	Mack 172	BM	VERLAMIO/
	Æ	Mack 174		—
	Æ	Mack 190		VIR/RVEI
Cunobelinus	Æ	Mack 229	BM	CAMV/CVNO
	Æ	Mack 242	Colchester M	CVNOBELINI/TASCIOVANI.F
	Æ	Mack 243		CVNOBELINUS/TASCIOVANI F
	Æ	Mack 244		CVNOB/TASCIOVANTIS
	Æ	Mack 248		CVNOBELINI/TASCIO
	Æ	Mack 249	BM	CVNO/TASCI
	Æ	Mack 253		CVNO/CAM
British LX 21	Æ	Mack 273		—

(The above are the full legends; they are not all visible on the specimens from Harlow.)



CELTIC COINS FROM HARLOW TEMPLE

THE VATICAN HOARD OF ANGLO-SAXON PENNIES

By M. A. O'DONOVAN

ABOUT the year 1928 a hoard of 517 Anglo-Saxon pennies of the late ninth- and early tenth-century was discovered in Rome, apparently on the site of the Vatican Wireless Station, then under construction, although this has been denied by an interested party. The hoard was sent to England by the owner 'residing abroad', and sold by Glendinings in two parts on May 16th, 1929 and November 13th, 1930.¹ Some of the coins passed into the possession of the British Museum, but the rest were dispersed among private collections. No formal publication was made at the time, and the sale catalogues are the only published record of this important hoard.² This article is an attempt to reconstruct the hoard in as much detail as has been found possible.³

The sale catalogues provide fairly detailed descriptions of the rarer coins, such as the pictorial issues of Edward the Elder, but only the names of the moneyers are listed for the more common types, with some intimation of the reverse patterns, occasionally inaccurate. Most fortunately, the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum possesses G. C. Brooke's copies of the catalogues, annotated by him with all the individual coin weights, various die-duplications and a few corrections. Dr. Brooke also caused plaster casts to be made of a majority of the coins in the earlier sale. These, now in the British Museum Coin Room, together with photographs of the collection of the late R. C. Lockett—a purchaser at both the 1929 and 1930 sales—have afforded much supplementary information.

The contents of the hoard were as follows:

Mægmunð (890-923)	26
St. Edmund Memorial (c. 870-905)	1
Ælfred (871-899)	18
Edward the Elder (899-924)	437
Æthelstan (924-939)	35
Deniers of the Cologne mint	4
Deniers of the Pavia mint	2
Silver ingots	2 & 2 broken pieces.

In its general composition, the Vatican hoard presents no chronological difficulties. The proportion of 437 coins of Edward to 35 coins of Æthelstan would indicate that the coins left England within a very few (perhaps two or three) years of the latter's accession. None of the Æthelstan coins bear mint signatures, and it is noteworthy that one of the two Æthelstan portrait coins has a diademed bust proper to Edward the Elder, whereas normal portrait

¹ It was not until the hoard was put up for auction and the British Museum raised the question of treasure trove, that the Roman provenance emerged.

² G. C. Brooke published a short note on the hoard in *NC* 1931, pp. 133-5.

³ I am most grateful to Miss M. Archibald and Dr. J. P. C. Kent, of the British Museum, Dept. of Coins and Medals, for their advice and kind assistance, especially in arranging photography; to Professor K. F. Morrison, who spared time on a

short visit from America to classify the continental coins; to Mr. C. E. Blunt, who has given me much help, and has contributed most of the points of interest on the Æthelstan coins; to Professor Whitelock, who has been more than generous with her time and knowledge, and to Mr. Michael Dolley, who has given me constant help and encouragement throughout my work on this article. I remain responsible for whatever errors this article contains.

coins of Æthelstan have a crowned bust. A diademed bust for Æthelstan does not appear in the British Museum Catalogue or in Brooke's *English Coins*. There is another specimen of this type in the Forum hoard (not yet published) of the moneyer Grimwald. Both the Vatican hoard portrait coins of Æthelstan illustrate a transitional type of bust, which is discussed in the following pages, and which represents an early stage in Æthelstan's coinage. The two coins of the moneyer Alfeau, one each from the reigns of Edward the Elder and Æthelstan, have been struck from the same reverse die, so that they cannot be far separate in time (*cf.* nos. 96, 485). The absence of any coins from the York mint may well be a further indication of date. Coins struck for the Danish or Norse rulers of York before Æthelstan's reign do not seem, from hoard evidence, to have been in general circulation in the south of England, and might not perhaps have been accepted by the officials collecting tax. But after Æthelstan's successful campaign in 927, the mint at York came under his authority, and became very active, supplying part of the currency common throughout England. All these facts indicate that the Æthelstan coins of the hoard belong to the very early years of his reign.

The chronological consistency and homogeneous nature of the hoard make it unlikely that the coins were assembled in Rome or on the continent generally: had they been, one might expect to find a considerably larger proportion of continental coins. Of the six foreign coins that are included, two were struck at Pavia for Rudolf, Duke of Burgundy, between the years 922 and 926, when he held the title of King of Italy. The four remaining coins came from the mint of Cologne, and were struck probably between 900 and 923 (the latter date might be extended to 929). All are specimens of common types, and would have been easily available to people travelling on the continent between 922 and *c.* 940.

Before mentioning coins of individual interest, it is worth considering how and why this parcel of coins should have reached Rome, for the composition of the hoard indicates that the coins were assembled in England and taken directly to Rome; they could not have formed part of some itinerant merchant's capital.

Despite the distance and difficulties, surviving records show that journeys between England and Rome were not uncommon in the ninth and tenth centuries. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle contains references to such visits in the years 801, 814, 853 (when Ælfred as a child was sent to Rome to receive confirmation from Pope Leo III) and 855-8.¹ For the Anglo-Saxons, Rome was the chief goal for pilgrimages, and this is well illustrated in the eighth and early ninth centuries (as in Alcuin's correspondence). For the tenth century there is the evidence of a continental annalist: (921) 'Many English on the way to Rome were struck down with stones by the Saracens in the passes of the Alps . . .'; (923) ' . . . A multitude of the English travelling to the thresholds of St. Peter for the sake of prayer were killed by the Saracens in the Alps . . .'.²

A visit almost certainly entailed alms-giving, but during the latter half of Ælfred's reign there are several entries in the Chronicle that record journeys made specifically for the purpose of taking alms to Rome on behalf of the King and the West Saxon people. Under the year 883 is the entry 'In this year Abbot Beornhelm took to Rome the alms which King Ælfred had promised there', followed by similar entries for 887, 888, 889 and 890, all of which except that for 889³ define the alms as those of King Alfred and the West Saxons.

¹ All references to entries in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle are taken from the revised translation edited by D. Whitelock, 1961.

² Annals of Flodoard, *M. G. H. Scriptores* III, pp. 369, 373, trans. in *English Historical Documents*

vol. I, *c.* 500-1042, ed. D. Whitelock, 1955. Doc. no. 24, p. 315.

³ This particular entry reads 'There was no expedition to Rome in this year, but King Alfred sent two courtiers with letters.'

The next reference comes not from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle but from Æthelweard's Chronicle. with the entry: 'In the course of the same year [908] the bishop just mentioned [Plegmund] conveyed alms to Rome for the nation and also for King Edward.'¹ The only Anglo-Saxon Chronicle entry referring to a visit to Rome in the first half of the tenth century comes under the year 927: 'In this year King Æthelstan drove out King Guthfrith and in this year Archbishop Wulfhelm went to Rome.'

These entries concerning alms taken to Rome for the king and his people probably record the beginnings of 'Peter's Pence' in England. This payment, also known as 'hearth-penny' (heorthpænig) and 'Romescot' (Romfeoh), is first specifically mentioned as a regular tax, though without secular penalties for omission, in the first code of Edmund (942 or 944-6), sect. 2:

'We enjoin upon every Christian man, in accordance with his Christian profession, to pay tithes and church-dues and Peter's Pence (Romfeoh) and plough-alms. And if anyone refuses to do so, he shall be excommunicated.'²

It also appears in the second and third codes of Edgar (955-963), sect. 4:

'And every hearth-penny is to be paid by St. Peter's day. And he who has not rendered it at that appointed day is to take it to Rome, and 30 pence in addition, and to bring back a document showing that he has handed over the amount there . . .'³

This paragraph is important in regard to the Vatican hoard because it shows clearly that the tax was paid as a single penny, and it is unlikely that the collected coins would then be restruck or exchanged for gold pieces before being taken to Rome.⁴

Apart from public alms, there were also private bequests that would have entailed a journey to Rome. Ælfred's father Æthelwulf left at his death a 'testamentary, or rather advisory, letter', in which he ordered that 'a great sum of money was every year to be taken to Rome for his soul, namely 300 mancuses . . .', of which a third went to St. Peter, a third to St. Paul, and the rest to the Pope.⁵ In the preceding century, Offa had sent a similar annual gift (365 mancuses) to Rome.⁶ In a charter of the year 762, Dunwald, a former thegn of the dead King Æthelbert of Kent, was desiring to 'convey his (Æthelbert's) money for the safety of his soul to the threshold of the Apostles at Rome, along with others, . . .'.⁷ A late ninth-century bequest is found in the will of Ealdorman Alfred: 'And she [Wærbergh, his wife] is to take to St. Peter's my two werelds, if it be God's will that she may perform that journey.'⁸ Some time between the years 931 and 939, a layman is found travelling to Rome with his family: '*Withstan cum uxore et filio proficiscens ad Romam* . . .'.⁹

During the tenth century it became customary for archbishops to receive their *pallia* in person at Rome, and bishops were also expected to make the visit *ad limina* at least once during their episcopacy. Plegmund and Wulfhelm are known to have visited Rome; it is

¹ *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, ed. and trans. by A. Campbell, 1962, p. 52.

² *The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I*, ed. and trans. by A. J. Robertson, p. 7.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 23.

⁴ This article is not intended as a discussion of the question of the origin of Romescot, but merely as an indication of possibilities. The striking of special alms pieces is discussed by R. H. M. Dolley in 'The so-called "Piedforts" of Alfred the Great,' *NC* 1954, pp. 76-92.

⁵ *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, ed. W. H. Stevenson, chap. 16. Trans. in *E.H.D.* vol. I, Doc. no. 7, p. 265.

⁶ *Councils*, ed. A. W. Haddon and W. Stubbs, vol. III, pp. 523-5. Trans. in *E.H.D.* vol. I, Doc. no. 205, p. 794.

⁷ *Cartularium Saxonum*, ed. W. de G. Birch, no. 192. Trans. in *E.H.D.* vol. I, Doc. no. 72, p. 460.

⁸ Birch *C.S.* no. 558. Trans. in *E.H.D.* vol. I, Doc. no. 97, p. 496.

⁹ Birch *C.S.* no. 640.

impossible to say how many others did so unrecorded. Bishop Theodred of London, who mentions in his will (mid 10th century) that he bought chasubles at Pavia, probably did so while journeying to or from Rome.¹ King Æthelstan, a great benefactor of monasteries, had clerics collecting relics on the continent on his behalf from 'the holy Roman church, and from Britain beyond the seas, and from many other places, with care, great trouble and at great expence.'²

It is clear therefore that people were travelling to Rome at frequent intervals during the ninth and tenth centuries, although the sources only occasionally record their visits. The probability is that the Vatican hoard was part of a Romescot, and the likelihood is increased by the existence of two other similar hoards found at Rome, the 'Forum' or 'Vestal Virgins' hoard and the 'Rome' hoard of c. 1840. But 517 pence was not an enormous sum: it was equal to only 20 mancuses, if one includes the value of the ingots, and it might have been a part or the whole of a private bequest, or even a fee paid to the Papal chancellor for the *pallium*.³ Archbishop Wulfhelm's visit to Rome in 927, soon after his succession to Canterbury in 926, is a convenient event with which to connect the conveyance to Rome of the Vatican hoard. It must however remain a hypothetical connection only.

The hoard was probably deposited very shortly after its arrival in Rome, as it had accumulated only six foreign coins, and as, furthermore, one would expect the ingots to be separated from the specie fairly rapidly and struck into current coin. It is possible that events culminating in the death of Pope John X in 928 might have prompted the hoard's concealment. He became Pope in 914, and ruled quite powerfully for thirteen years, conducting a successful campaign against the Saracens in 916; but conditions in Rome were uneasy in 927, and in 928 a revolt instigated in Rome itself resulted in his capture and death by suffocation. After this Marozia, leader of the rival faction, gained control of the Papacy, and Rome was relatively quiet until 932. The revolt of 928 would provide a likely motive and a suitable date for the Vatican hoard's deposition, and would be closely paralleled by that of the Forum hoard, which has been associated with the disturbances in Rome following the death of Pope Marinus.⁴

The Vatican hoard contributed several new moneyers to Dr. Brooke's *English Coinage*, but the hoard came to England only a short while before the book's publication, and there are still a few names to add to the list of moneyers already known to be working in the period. The coins of Plegmund, St. Edmund Memorial and Ælfred are all known types; those of Plegmund are all moneyers of the later issues, and the Ælfred coins fall late in the reign (using the Dolley-Blunt classification),⁵ except for no. 30. The majority (365) of the Edward the Elder coins are of the two-line type (*BMC* II, Brooke 13), fifty-nine are portrait coins, and thirteen have pictorial designs. Several moneyers of the *BMC* II series do not seem to have been noted before. 'Bionnede' is not included in *English Coins*; there are two examples

¹ Birch *C.S.* no. 1008, Trans. in *E.H.D.* vol. I, Doc. no. 106, p. 511.

² From the Middleton Register in *Monasticon Anglicanum*, by W. Dugdale, 1819 ed., p. 350.

³ See the letter from the bishops and priests of Britain protesting against papal demands concerning the *pallium*, probably written by Wulfstan. Text in *Concils* III, pp. 559-561; discussed by W. Levison in *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* Appendix III, pp. 241-8; and also in D. Bethurum, 'A letter of Protest from the English Bishops to the Pope' in *Philologica: The Malone Anniversary Studies* pp. 97-104. See

also Cnut's letter to the people of England about the extortionate charges made on archbishops at Rome ed. by F. Liebermann in *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen* I, pp. 276-7, trans. by A. J. Robertson, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-153.

⁴ cf. 'A hoard of Anglo-Saxon Coins found in Rome' by C. F. Keary, *NC* 1884, pp. 225-55; and 'A hoard of Anglo-Saxon Pennies from Sicily' by R. H. M. Dolley, *NC* 1961, pp. 151-61.

⁵ cf. 'The Chronology of the Coins of Ælfred the Great' by R. H. M. Dolley and C. E. Blunt, in *Anglo-Saxon Coins*, ed. R. H. M. Dolley.

of this moneyer in the Forum hoard,¹ and another in the Ashmolean collection. 'Wehtulf', 'Mathelbreht', 'Ernuld' and 'Heremfred' (for the continental 'Ermenfrith'?) are none of them listed for Edward the Elder, though a 'Heremfretia' appears as no. 45 in the Forum hoard. 'Otith' (the 'th' is not a ð on the coin, which is most unusual) may be the 'Otic(h)' who minted for Æthelstan at Winchester:² otherwise he appears to be unknown. 'Helygrid' (? Helu-) and 'Hereblau' are unrecorded as personal names, and are not probable formations: they cannot be identified with any known moneyers in these forms. One of Edward's portrait coins has the reverse legend 'Otgri Fecit M', with a script 'c' and 'g'.³ The lettering resembles an East Anglian type, an area where the legend 'Fecit' was used, but the moneyer himself is not recognisable. Neither is 'Atenohert', minting a right-facing coin. Among the coins of King Æthelstan the moneyer's name 'Cyncrof' is not found elsewhere either as a moneyer or as a known personal name, although it is a perfectly possible dithematic formation.

The Vatican hoard is important in showing the transition between the portrait types of Edward the Elder and Æthelstan. The normal Edward portrait shews a diademed bust contained within the inner circle, whereas the normal Æthelstan portrait shows a crowned bust descending to the outer edge of the coin. The two portrait coins of Æthelstan in the Vatican hoard, however, show a diademed bust contained in the inner circle (no. 516), and a diademed bust descending to the edge of the coin (no. 517); thus illustrating what are most probably the trial transitional stages between the two fully developed regnal styles.

When the Morley St. Peter hoard, discovered in 1958, is published in full, it will be interesting to compare the composition of the two hoards, which are very close in date. The Vatican hoard has eight of the Edward the Elder portrait coins with unintelligible reverse legends that are so common in Morley St. Peter.

In the following lists, the coins of King Ælfred have been separated into the types suggested by Mr. Dolley and Mr. Blunt in the paper already mentioned. Those of Edward the Elder have been classed in accordance with the British Museum Catalogue, with the most common type first. In the first column, the moneyer's name has been given in what appeared to be the most representative form for the period, together with the number of coins found for the moneyer concerned in that particular section. In the third column reference is made to the original catalogue number of the individual coin; for this purpose the catalogue of the 1929 sale has been styled 'A', and that of 1930 'B'. In a few cases it has not been possible to distinguish between the ornamentation of two coins of the same lot: this has been indicated by giving an indeterminate catalogue number (e.g. B65 a/b) to the weight given by Dr. Brooke (e.g. 24.7 (a)). The reverse legend and ornament have been given in full wherever possible, but empty brackets in either column shew where these could not be supplied. For convenience, an ornament that comes in the same line as the moneyer's name or title has been listed with the legend (e.g. ADEL+ | VLF Mō). The line break in the legend has also been inserted where known. In the last column but one, 'location or illustration':

BM = the coin is now in the trays of the British Museum.

BM* = a cast of the coin is now in the British Museum.

C = the coin is illustrated in the original Glendining catalogue.

'L' followed by a number identifies the coin in the catalogue of the Lockett collection.

A star by the running number means that the coin referred to is illustrated in Plates VI or VII.

¹ C. F. Keary, *op. cit.*, NC 1884, p. 233, no. 17.

² No. 580, plate XVIII in *Sylloge of the Coins of the British Isles*, No. 1, Fitzwilliam Museum,

Cambridge. Part I, Ancient and Anglo-Saxon Coins, by P. Grierson.

³ See Pl. VI, no. 445.

PLEGMUND (890—923)

<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Running number</i>	<i>Catalogue number</i>	<i>Rev. legend</i>	<i>Rev. Ornament</i>	<i>Weight</i>	<i>Location or illustr.</i>	<i>Comments</i>
Æthelfrith (3)	1	A1	ÆDELFRED MON	+ + +	24.7	BM	
	2	A2	ÆDELFRED MON	(?)	24.2		
	3	A3	ÆDELFRED MON	(?)	23.9		
Boorhtelm (3)	4	B1	BERHT ELM Mō	. + + +	23.1	C, L2640	
	5	B2	BIERT EL MM (lig.)o	. + + +	26.1	L3560	
	6	B3	+ BIERTEL MM(lig.)o	(?)	24.7		
Eicmund (11) for Ecgmund	7	A4	EICMV ND MO	. + + +	27.4	C	
	8	A5	EICMV ND MO	. + + +	23.2	C	
	9	A7	EICMV ND MO	. + + +	25.2	C, L3561	
	10	B7	EICMVND MO	(?)	22.5		
	11	B10	EICMVND MO	(?)	23.2		
	12	A6	EICMV ND MON	. + + +	25.2	C	
	13	B4	EICMV ND MON	. + + +	24.8		
	14	B6	EICMV ND MON	. + + +	22.4	C	Overstruck on earlier coin.
	15	B5	EICMVND MON	(?)	24.2		
	16	B8	EICMVND MON	(?)	22.7		
	17	B9	EICMVND MON	(?)	24.3		
	18	A8	SIGERE LM MON	. + + +	24.6	C	
	19	A9	SIGHELM MON	(?)	24.3		
	20	B101a	SIGHELM MON	(?)	24.6	BM	Under Æthelstan in the catalogue
Witric (6)	21	B11	VVILR IC MON	. + + +	23.2		
	22	B12	VVILR IC MON	. + + +	26.1	C	
	23	B13	VVILRIC MON	(?)	25.2		
	24	B14	VVILRIC MON	(?)	24.0		
	25	A10	VVILR IC MONE(lig.)	. + + +	25.7	BM, C	
	26	B15	VVILRIC MONE(lig.)	(?)	25.4		

ST. EDMUND MEMORIAL COINAGE (c. 870—905)

			<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>		
Odulf? (1)	27*	A11	+ ꝛꝛ EADNV Elaborate monogram 'A'	+ R' ODVL MOI Small cross	20.1	C, BM

ALFRED (871-899)							
<i>Class & Moneyer</i>	<i>Running number</i>	<i>Catalogue number</i>	<i>Obv. & Rev. legend</i>	<i>Rev. ornament</i>	<i>Weight</i>	<i>Location or illustr.</i>	<i>Comments</i>
Ic 'Londonia' (2)	28	B16	ÆLFRED REX (Monogram)	÷ †	23.6	C	Portrait † triangle of six pellets
	29	B17	ÆLFRED REX (Monogram)	÷ †	22.8		Portrait † triangle of six pellets
IIb Burgnoth (1)	30	A13a	÷ EL FR ED RE BVRGNOÐM ÷	· · ·	21.6		
IIId Æthelstan (1)	31	B18a	(?) ÆDEL ÷ STAN	· · · · ·	24.0		
Æthered (2)	32	B18b	(?) ÆDERED MO	+ + ÷	23.6		
	33	B19a	(?) ÆDERED MO	(?)	25.3		
Æthelulf (3)	34	A12a	ÆEL FRE DREX ADEL VLF MO	· + + + ·	24.2	BM	
	35	B20a	(?) ÷ ÆDEL VLF MO	· + + + ·	24.0		
	36	B19b	(?) ADELVLF MO	(?)	24.7		
	37	A12b	Æ AE LFR EDR BEORM Æ R M	· † ·	24.7	BM	† cross of 5 pellets
Wulfred (8)	38	A13b	ÆEL FRE DREX VVLF RED ÷	· · · · ·	24.0		
	39	A14a	ÆEL FRE DREX VVLF RED ÷	· · · · ·	24.2	C	
	40	A14b	ÆEL FRE DREX VVLF RED ÷	· · · · ·	24.7		
	41	B20b	(?) VVLFRED ÷	· · · · ·	23.5		
	42	B21a	(?) VVLFRED ÷	· · · · ·	24.3		
	43	B21b	(?) VVLFRED ÷	· · · · ·	23.7		
	44	B22a	(?) VVLFRED ÷	· · · · ·	24.1		
	45	B22b	(?) VVLFRED ÷	· · · · ·	24.9		

EDWARD THE ELDER (899-924)
BMC II

<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Running number</i>	<i>Catalogue number</i>	<i>Rev. legend</i>	<i>Rev. ornament</i>	<i>Weight</i>	<i>Location or illustr.</i>	<i>Comments</i>
Adalbert (5)	46	A48b	ADAL BERT	∴ + + + ∴	22.4	BM*	Slightly chipped.
	47	A48c	ADALBERT	∴ + + + ∴	21.7		
	48	B61a	ADALBERT	∴ + + + ∴	24.5		
	49	B61b	ADALBERT	∴ + + + ∴	Chipped		
	50	B62a	ADALBERT	(?)	24.1		
Ælfred (1)	51	A59a	ÆLFRED Mō	(?)	Chipped	L2722a, BM, C	
Æthelfrith (2)	52	B61c	ÆDEL ERD Mō	∴ + + + ∴	24.6		
	53	B62b	ÆDELFRID (?)	(?)	21.4		
Æthelred—see Æthered							
Æthelsige (2)	54	A48a	ÆDELS IGE Mō	∴ + + + ∴	25.3	BM*, C	} die duplicates.
	55	B69b	ÆDELS IGE Mō	∴ + + + ∴	22.6		
Æthelstan (13)	56	A50b	ÆDELS TAN Mō	∴ + + + ∴	22.9	L538b, BM*	
	57	A51a	ÆDELS TAN Mō	∴ + + + ∴	23.0	BM*	
	58	A51b	ÆDELS TAN Mō	∴ + + + ∴	24.3		
	59	A49b	ÆDELS TAN Mō	∴ + + + ∴	25.7	BM*	
	60	A49c	ÆDELS TAN Mō	∴ + + + ∴	23.2	BM*	
	61	A50a	ÆDELS TAN Mō	∴ + + + ∴	24.5	L3661e, BM*	
	62	A51c	ÆDELS TAN Mō	∴ + + + ∴	21.4	BM*	
	63	A52a	ÆDELSTAN (?)	∴ + + + ∴	24.9		
	64	B64a	ÆDELSTAN (?)	∴ + + + ∴	22.4		
	65	A49a	ÆDELS TAN Mō	+ + +	23.2	BM*	
	66	B63a	ÆDELS TAN Mō	+ + +	23.3	C	
	67	A50c	ÆDELS TAN Mō	∴ + + + ∴	24.5	L2722b,	
	68	B62c	ÆDELSTAN (?)	(?)	21.4		
	69	A52c	ÆDELV VINE(lig.) Mō	∴ + + + ∴	24.1	BM*	
Æthelwulf see Æthelulf	70	B63c	ÆDELV VINE(lig.) Mō	∴ + + + ∴	26.2	L2722c	
Æthered (25)	71	A56b	ÆDER ED Mō	∴ + + + ∴	24.6	BM*	
	72	A56c	ÆDER ED Mō	∴ + + + ∴	23.3	BM*	
	73	A57c	ÆDER ED Mō	∴ + + + ∴	25.5	L3662b, BM*	
	74	A58a	ÆDERED Mō	∴ + + + ∴	23.8	BM*	
	75	B66a	ÆDERED Mō	∴ + + + ∴	24.3		

76	B60b	EDERED MÖ	·	+	+	+	·	24-3	
77	B66c	EDERED MÖ	·	+	+	+	·	22-0	
78	B66d	EDERED MÖ	·	+	+	+	·	25-5	
79	B65e	EDERED (?)	·	+	+	+	·	23-0	die duplicates
80	B65d	EDERED (?)	·	+	+	+	·	24-8	same rev. die.
81	B64b	EDERED (?)	·	+	+	+	·	24-1	
82	B64c	EDERED (?)	·	+	+	+	·	25-5	
83	A56a	EDER ED MÖ	·	+	+	+	·	22-9	BM*
84	B65a/b	EDERED (?)	·	+	+	+	·	24-7(a)	
85	B67c	EDERED (?)	·	+	+	+	·	25-5	
86	B67d	EDERED (?)	·	+	+	+	·	25-1	
87	A57a	EDER · ED MÖ+	·	+	+	+	·	24-6	BM*
88	A57b	EDER ED MÖ+	·	+	+	+	·	24-1	L2723b, BM*
89	A58b	EDER ED MÖ+	·	+	+	+	·	24-4	BM*
90	A58c	EDER ED MÖ+	·	+	+	+	·	25-1	BM*
91	B63b	EDERED MÖ+	·	+	+	+	·	23-2	
92	B65a/b	EDERED (?)	+	+	+	+	·	25-0 (b)	
93	B67a	EDERED (?)	+	+	+	+	·	25-7	
94	B67b	EDERED (?)	+	+	+	+	·	25-0	
95	A53c	EDERED MÖ +	(?)					24-3	
96*	B70d	ALFEA V MONE(lig.)T	·	+	+	+	·	20-2	Slightly clipped.
97	B68b	ADELVLV (?)	·	+	+	+	·	21-7	C, L538a Same rev. die as 485.
98	B68c	ADELVLV (?)	·	+	+	+	·	24-9	
99	B69a	ADELVLV (?)	·	+	+	+	·	25-1	
100	B70c	ADELVLV (?)	·	+	+	+	·	24-0	
101	A54a	ADEL+ VLF MÖ	·	+	+	+	·	24-6	BM*
102	A54c	ADEL+ VLF MÖ	·	+	+	+	·	24-8	BM*
103	A53a	ADEL- VLF MÖ	·	+	+	+	·	24-5	BM*, L549
104	A53b	ADEL VLF MÖ	·	+	+	+	·	25-2	L3662a, BM*
105	B69d	ADEL VLF MÖ	·	+	+	+	·	24-4	die duplicates.
106	B70a	ADELVLV (?)	·	+	+	+	·	24-1	
107	B70b	ADELVLV (?)	·	+	+	+	·	24-8	
108	A53c	ADEL+ VLF MÖ	·	+	+	+	·	24-2	L2723a
109	A54b	ADEL+ VLF MÖ	·	+	+	+	·	25-1	BM*
110	A55a	ADEL+ VLF MÖ	·	+	+	+	·	25-0	BM*
111	B69c	ADELVLV (?)	·	+	+	+	·	24-7	
112	B68a	ADEL+ VLF MÖ	·	+	+	+	·	25-6	C
113	A55b	ADELVLV (?)	(?)					25-0	

Alfeah (1) for Alfeah
 Athelwulf (17) for
 Æthelwulf

<i>Muneyr</i>	<i>Hunting number</i>	<i>Catalogue number</i>	<i>Rev. legend</i>
Bechla (1)	114	A59b	BECH DA MÖ
Bechred (9)	115	A62a	BECH RED MÖ
	116	A62b	BECH RED MÖ
	117	A63a	BECH RED MÖ
	118	B375c	BECHRED (?)
	119	B375d	BECHRED (?)
	120	B376a	BECH RED MÖ
	121	B377a	BECHRED (?)
	122	B377b	BECHRED (?)
	123	A62c	BECH[?]RED (?)
Beahstan (14)	124	A61a	BEAHN TAN MÖ
	125	B371a	BEAHN TAN MÖ
	126	A60a	BEAHN TAN MÖ
	127	B371b	BEAHSTAN (?)
	128	B372c	BEAHSTAN (?)
	129	B372a	BEAHN TAN MÖ
	130	B372b	BEAHN TAN MÖ
	131	A59c	BEAHN TAN MÖ
	132	A60b	BEAHN TAN MÖ
	133	A61b	BEAHN TAN MÖ
	134	A61c	BEAHN TAN MÖ
	135	B371c	BEAHSTAN (?)
	136	B371d	BEAHSTAN (?)
	137	A60c	BEAHSTAN MÖ
Beahred, see Beahred.			
Beorhtelm (2)	138	B372d	BEORHT(lig.) ELM MÖ
	139	B376b	BEORHT ELM(lig.)Ö
Beorhtred, see Berhtred			
Beorhtulf (1)	140	A66c	BEORHT TVLF MÖ
Beornere (13)	141	A63b	BEORN ERE MÖ
for Beornern	142	A63c	BEORN ERE MÖ
	143	A64a	BEORN ERE MÖ
	144	A64b	BEORNERE MÖ
	145	A64c	BEORNERE MÖ
	146	A65a	BEORN ERE MÖ
	147	A65b	BEORNERE MÖ
	148	A66a	BEORNERE MÖ

<i>Rev. ornament</i>	<i>Weight</i>	<i>Legend or illustr.</i>	<i>Comments</i>
	23.9	BM*	
	24.5	BM*	
	25.4	BM*	
	23.9	BM*	
	24.7		
	24.0		
	24.6	L2723c	
	24.6		
	24.0		
	24.4		
	25.0	BM*	} die duplicates
	23.6		
	23.5	BM*	
	23.5		
	24.3		
	24.1		} die duplicates
	24.6		
	25.1	BM*	} same rev. die.
	24.7	BM*	
	26.1	BM*	
	23.8	BM*	
	25.2		
	24.0		
	24.2		
	23.5	C, L3676a	
	23.6	BM, L2724c	
	25.0	C	
	24.4	BM*	
	24.5	BM*	
	25.5	BM*	
	25.5		
	24.0		
	24.2	BM*	
	24.8		
	24.4		

Beornred (2)	149	B73a	BEORNEDE (?)	· · + + + + · ·	· · + + + + · ·	25-5	BM*
	150	B73b	BEORNEDE (?)	· · + + + + · ·	· · + + + + · ·	25-2	
	151	B74a	BEORNEDE (?)	· · + + + + · ·	· · + + + + · ·	24-2	
	152	A65e	BEORN ERE MO	· · + + + + · ·	· · + + + + · ·	25-6	
	153	B73c	BEORNEDE (?)	· · + + + + · ·	· · + + + + · ·	24-8	
	154	A65b	BEORN RED MO	· · + + + + · ·	· · + + + + · ·	24-6	BM*
	155	A68a	BEORN RED MO	· · + + + + · ·	· · + + + + · ·	24-3	BM*, L539a
Beornulf (8)	156	B74e	BEORNVLF (?)	· · + + + + · ·	· · + + + + · ·	24-8	
	157	B75a	BEORNVLF (?)	· · + + + + · ·	· · + + + + · ·	24-8	
	158	A67a	BEORN VLF MO	· · + + + + · ·	· · + + + + · ·	25-8	BM*
	159	A67b	BEORN VLF MO	· · + + + + · ·	· · + + + + · ·	24-4	BM*
	160	A67e	BEORN VLF MO	· · + + + + · ·	· · + + + + · ·	23-9	BM*
	161	A68a	BEORN VLF MO	· · + + + + · ·	· · + + + + · ·	25-8	BM
	162	B74d	BEORNVLF (?)	· · + + + + · ·	· · + + + + · ·	27-3	
	163	B75b	BEORNVLF (?)	· · + + + + · ·	· · + + + + · ·	25-6	
Beornwold (3)	164	A68b	BEORN DOLD MO	· · + + + + · ·	· · + + + + · ·	22-4	C, BM
	165	B73d	BEORN DOLD MO	· · + + + + · ·	· · + + + + · ·	23-9	
	166	B74b	BEORN DOLD MO	· · + + + + · ·	· · + + + + · ·	24-2	L2724b
Beorhtred (1) for Beorhtred	167	A68c	BEORHT RED MO	· · + + + + · ·	· · + + + + · ·	21-1	BM
Beorhtelm, see Beorht-	168	A69b	BEORHT EDE MO	· · + + + + · ·	· · + + + + · ·	24-2	BM*
Bornesda (2)	169*	A69c	BEORHT EDE MO	· · + + + + · ·	· · + + + + · ·	22-8	C, BM*
Beornred (1)	170	B77d	BEORRED FN	(?)	(?)	18-5	Contemporary forgery
Boiga (2)	171	B77e	BIOGA MONKE	· · + + + + · ·	· · + + + + · ·	24-6	
	172	B76e	BIOGA MONE	· · + + + + · ·	· · + + + + · ·	24-2	L546a
Bonius Homo (2)	173*	B78	BIONVS HOMO MO	· · + + + + · ·	· · + + + + · ·	24-1	C, L540
	174	B79	BONVS HOMO MO	· · + + + + · ·	· · + + + + · ·	24-1	
Burchelm (5) for Burchelm	175	A70a	BVRH + ELM MO	· · + + + + · ·	· · + + + + · ·	23-1	BM*
	176	A70b	BVRH + ELM MO	· · + + + + · ·	· · + + + + · ·	23-4	BM*
	177	A71a	BVRH + ELM MO	· · + + + + · ·	· · + + + + · ·	20-1	BM*
	178	B80a	BVRH + ELM MO	· · + + + + · ·	· · + + + + · ·	25-1	L3604b
	179	B81a	BVRH (?) ELM (?)	· · + + + + · ·	· · + + + + · ·	23-1	
Cenbrecht (2)	180	A71b	CENBR EHT MO	· · + + + + · ·	· · + + + + · ·	24-7	BM
	181	B80c	CENBR EHT MO	· · + + + + · ·	· · + + + + · ·	24-6	L541a
Ciculf (2) for Ciculf	182	B80b	CICOLF LF MO	· · + + + + · ·	· · + + + + · ·	24-2	L2725b
	183	B81b	CICOLF (?)	· · + + + + · ·	· · + + + + · ·	Chipped	
	184	B81c	CICF (?)	· · + + + + · ·	· · + + + + · ·	24-7	
Clip (4)	185	B82b	CLIF (?)	· · + + + + · ·	· · + + + + · ·	25-5	

<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Running number</i>	<i>Catalogue number</i>	<i>Rev. legend</i>
Clip [cont.]	186	B80d	CLIPM ONETA
	187	A71c	CLIP MONETA
Cynulf (2) for Cynewulf	188	B82a	CYNVLF (?)
	189	A72a	CYNV LF MŌ
Deora—see Diora			
Deormod—see Diormod			
Deorwald (18)	190	A74a	DEORV VALD MŌ
	191	A74b	DEORV VALD MŌ
	192	A74c	DEORV VALD MŌ
	193	A76a	DEORV VALD MŌ
	194	B83a/b	DEORVVALD (?)
	195	B83b/c	DEORVVALD (?)
	196	B84b	DEORVVALD (?)
	197	B85a	DEORVVALD (?)
	198	B85b	DEORVVALD (?)
	199	A72c	DEORV VALD MŌ
	200	A77a	DEORV VALD MŌ
	201	B81d	DEORVVALD (?)
	202	B84a	DEORVVALD (?)
	203	A75a	DEORV VALD MŌ
	204	B82d	DEORVVALD (?)
	205	B83a/b/c	DEORVVALD (?)
	206	A73b	DEORV VALD MŌ
	207	A73a	DEORV VALD MŌ
Diora (3) for Deora	208	A78a	DIORA MONE
	209	A77b	DIORA MONE+
	210	A78b	DIORA MONE
Diormod (4) for Deormod	211	A72b	DIORM OD MŌN
	212	A73c	DIORM OD MŌN
	213	B82c	DIORM OD MŌN
	214	A75b	DEOR AMOD
Dryhtwald (7)	215	A76b	DRYHT VALD MŌ
	216	B83d	DRYHT VALD MŌ
	217	B84c	DRYHTVALD (?)
	218	B84d	DRYHT VALD MŌ
	219	A76c	DRYHT VALD MŌ

<i>Rev. ornament</i>	<i>Weight</i>	<i>Location or illustr.</i>	<i>Comments</i>
· + + + ·	25·4	L3665a	
(?)	24·8		
· + + + ·	27·0		
+ + + + ·	26·0	C, L550b	
· + + + ·	24·8	BM*	
· + + + ·	24·1	BM*	
· + + + ·	23·2	BM*	
· + + + ·	24·4	BM*	
· + + + ·	24·9(a)		
· + + + ·	24·2(b)		
· + + + ·	26·1		
· + + + ·	25·0		
· + + + ·	22·5		
· + + + ·	24·1	L2725c, BM*	
· + + + ·	24·2	BM*	
· + + + ·	24·5		
· + + + ·	28·8		
+ + + + ·	22·5	BM*	
+ + + + ·	25·4		
+ + + + ·	24·1(c)		
· + + + ·	24·0	BM*	
† + + + †	25·0	BM*	† Cross of four pellets
· + + + ·	22·6	BM*, L3666a	
· + + + ·	25·0	BM*	
· + + + ·	25·5	BM*, L547a	
· + + + ·	23·1	BM*, L541b	
· + + + ·	22·3	BM*	
· + + + ·	22·8	BM	
· + + + ·	25·2	BM*	
· + + + ·	25·0	BM*	
· + + + ·	23·3	L2726a	
· + + + ·	25·4		
· + + + ·	24·4	BM	
· + + + ·	23·5	BM*	

	220	A75c	DYRHT VALD Mō
	221	A77c	DYRHT VALD Mō
Dunning (2)	222	A78c	DVN NING
	223	B85c	DVNNING
Eadelm (1)	224	A80b	EADE LMMō
Eadmund (4)	225	A79c	EADMV ND Mō
	226	B86a	EADNV ND Mō
	227	A79b	EADM+ VND Mō
	228	B85d	EADMVND (?)
Eadstan (1)	229	A80c	EADS TAN Mō
Eadulf (2)	230	A81c	EADV LF Mō
	231	A80a	EADV+ LFMō+
Ealdwulf (1)	232	B86b	EALDV VLF Mō
Ealhstan (7)	233	A81b	EALHS TAN Mō
	234	B86d	EALHS TAN Mō
	235	A82a	EALHS TAN Mō
	236	A81a	EALHZ TAN† Mō
	237	B86c	EALHSTAN (?)
	238	B87a	EALHSTAN (?)
	239	B87b	EALHSTAN (?)
Eardulf (2)	240	A82b	EARD VLF Mō
	241	B87c	EARDVLF (?)
Ec(g)laf (4)	242	A83a	ECLAF MONE
	243*	B88a	ECLAF MONE
	244	A82c	ECLAF (?)
	245	B87d	ECLAF MONE
Elfstan (1)	246	A83c	ELFZT AN Mō
Engelrim? (1)	247	A83d	ENGE L(?)RI Mō
Eoformund (3)	248	A84a	EOFR MVND†
	249	A84b	EOFR MVND
	250	B88b	EOFER VHHD
Ernuld (1)	251*	B88d	ERNV VLQ Mō
Frithe-berht or —briht (11)	252	A84d	FRIDE BRHT(lig.) Mō
	253	A86a	FRIDE BRHT Mō
	254	B89a/b	FRIDEBRHT (?)
	255	A85a	FRIDEB RHT Mō+
	256	A84c	FRIDEB RHT Mō

• + + + •	24.5	BM*	
• + + + •	25.2	BM*	
• + + + •	23.0	L3666b, BM*	
(?)	22.5		
Δ + + + ∇	24.2	BM*	Chester 'M'
Δ + + + ∇	Chipped	BM*	
Δ + + + ∇	26.3	BM	
† + + + ∇	24.4	BM*	† Cross of four pellets
† + + + †	23.8		† Rosette of Pellets
Δ + + + ∇	24.4	BM*	
Δ + + + ∇	24.7	L3666c, BM*	
Δ + + + ∇	23.1	BM*	
• + + + •	25.0	BM	
Δ + + + ∇	23.7	BM*	} die duplicates.
Δ + + + ∇	25.4		
Δ + + + ∇	24.0	BM*	
• + + + •	23.4	BM*	† reverse-barred 'N'
(?)	23.5		
(?)	25.4		
(?)	25.4		
Δ + + + ∇	25.3	BM*	
(?)	24.1		
• + + + •	23.6	BM	
• + + + •	25.5	L3667a	
(?)	Chipped		
(?)	26.2		
• + + + •	25.6	C, BM	
Δ + + + ∇	21.5	BM	
Δ + + + ∇	24.4	BM	† reverse-barred 'N'
Δ + + + ∇	24.9	BM*	
Δ + + + ∇	24.0	L3667b	
• + + + •	19.4	L2726c	Blundered obv. Forgery?
Δ + + + ∇	25.4	BM*	
Δ + + + ∇	24.7	BM*	
Δ + + + ∇	25.0(a)		
Δ + + + ∇	25.4	BM*	
• + + + •	25.3	BM*	

<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Running number</i>	<i>Catalogue number</i>	<i>Rev. legend</i>	
Frithe-berht [cont.]	257	A85c	FRIDEB RHT Mō	•
	258	B89a/b	FRIDE BRHT (?)	•
	259	B90a	FRIDEB RHT Mō	•
	260	A85b	FRIDEB RHT Mō+	•
	261	A85d	FRIDEB RHT Mō+	•
	262	A86b	FRIDEBRHT (?)	(?)
Gareard (5)	263	A86c	GARE ARD Mō	•
	264	B90b/c	GARE ARD Mō	•
	265	B90b/c	GARE ARD Mō	•
	266	B89c	GAREARD (?)	(?)
	267	B89d	GAREARD (?)	(?)
Godeferth (1)	268	B90d	GODEF ERD Mō	•
Grimwald (12)	269	A87d	GRIMÐ ALD Mō	•
	270	A88c	GRINÐ ALD Mō	•
	271	A86d	GRIMÐ ALD Mō	•
	272	A87a	GRIMÐ ALD Mō	•
	273	A88a	GRIMÐ ALD Mō	•
	274	A88b	GRIMÐ ALD Mō	•
	275	A87b	GRIMÐ ALD Mō	•
	276	A87c	GRIMÐ ALD Mō	•
	277	B91a	GRIMÐALD (?)	(?)
	278	B91b	GRIMÐALD (?)	(?)
	279	B92a	GRIMÐALD (?)	(?)
	280	B92b	GRIMÐALD (?)	(?)
Heardher (2)	281	A89a	HE(lig.)ARD HER Mō	•
	282	B91c	HE(lig.)ARD HER Mō	•
Helygrid? (1)	283*	B99d	OHELY+ GR(?)ID M	•
Hereblau? (1)	284	B91d	HEREBLAV (?)	(?)
Heremfred (1)	285	B92c	HEREMFRED (?)	(?)
Heremod (1)	286	B92d	HERE+ MOD+M	•
Hunfrith (1)	287	A89b	HVNf RED Mō	•
Iva (3)	288	A89c	IVAMO NETA+	•
	289	A89d	IVAMO NETA+	•
	290	B92e	IVANONETA	(?)

<i>Rev. ornament</i>	<i>Weight</i>	<i>Location or illustr.</i>	<i>Comments</i>
+ + + *	25.1	BM*	
+ + + *	25.3(b)		
+ + + *	24.5	L548a	
+ + + *	23.5	BM*	
+ + + *	23.8	BM*	
)	Chipped		
+ + + *	24.3	BM*	
+ + + *	21.4(b)	L542a	
+ + + *	23.2(c)	L2727a	
)	23.5		
)	24.1		
+ + + *	24.9	L3668b, BM	
+ + + *	24.9	BM*	} die duplicates.
+ + + *	23.8	BM*	
+ + + *	22.5	BM*	
+ + + *	24.1	BM*	
+ + + *	24.8	BM*	
+ + + *	24.0	BM*	
+ + + *	24.9	BM*	
+ + + *	25.1	BM*	
)	24.0		
)	24.3		
)	25.2		
)	24.7		
+ + + *	20.5	L3669b, BM*	} die duplicates.
+ + + *	25.4	BM	
+ + + *	24.8	L3678d	
)	22.7		
)	19.9		
+ + + *	19.3	BM	Chester 'M'
+ + + *	24.3	L2727c, BM*	
+ + + *	22.1	BM*	
+ + + *	23.0	BM*	
)	24.4		

Iohann (3)	291	A90a	IOHAN N MÖN
	292	A90b	IOHAN N MÖNE(lig.)
	293	B93a	IOHANN (?)
Land-æc or -uc (1)	294	B93b	LAND(?)C(?)
Lieduln (1)	295*	A90d	LIEDV LN MÖ
Liofhelm (2)	296	B93c	LIOFHELM (?)
for Leof-	297	B93d	LIOFHELM (?)
Londbriht (2)	298	A90c	LONDBRIHT MÖ †
	299	B93c	LONDBRIHT (?)
Manna (2)	300	A91c	NANAI MONET
	301	B94b	MANNA MANŃA
Mathelbreht (1)	302*	A91a	MADEL BREHT
Medethen? (1)	303*	A91b	NEIDE DEH HO
Odo (1)	304*	B94c	ODO MONE
Osbeurn (1)	305	A92d	OSB EAR H
Osgar (2)	306	A91d	OSEA R MÖ
	307	B95b	OSGA R MÖ
Ossere (3) for Oshere	308	B94e	OSSE RE MÖ
	309	B95a	OSSE RE MÖ
	310	B94d	OSSE RE MÖ
Otic(h) (1)	311*	B95c	OTITH MONZ
Pitit (1)	312	B96c	PITIT MÖNE
Rægenald (2)	313	B96a	RÆGENALD MÖ
	314	B96b	RÆGEN ALD MÖ
Rægenulf (27)	315	A92a	RÆGEN VLF MÖ
	316	A95b	RÆGEN VLF MÖ
	317	A93c	RÆGEN VLF MÖ
	318	A94b	RÆGEN VLF MÖ
	319	A92b	RÆGEN VLF MÖ
	320	A92c	RÆGEN VLF MÖ
	321	A93a	RÆGEN VLF MÖ
	322	A93b	RÆGEN VLF MÖ
	323	A93d	RÆGEN VLF MÖ
	324	A94a	RÆGEN VLF MÖ
	325	A95a	RÆGEN VLF MÖ

△ + + + ∇	20·8	C, BM	
△ + + + ∇	23·7	BM	
(?)	22·4		
(?)	25·6		
† + + + †	24·4	BM	†Cross of four pellets
(?)	25·2		
(?)	25·4		
+ + + + ·	17·8	BM	† ND and HT lig.
(?)	22·2		
△ + + + ∇	20·9	L542c, BM*	
△ + + + ∇	23·6	L3670a	
△ + + + ∇	23·7	L3669a, C, BM	
△ + + + ∇	20·0	L2730a, BM*	
△ + + + ∇	25·0	L2728a	
△ + + + ∇	23·7	L3670c, BM	
△ + + + ∇	24·3	L543a, BM*	
△ + + + ∇	25·5	L2728b	
△ + + + ∇	23·2	BM, L3671a	} die duplicates.
△ + + + ∇	23·9		
· + + + ·	21·0	L548b	Chester 'M'
△ + + + ∇	26·2	C, L3671b	
△ + + + ∇	25·1	L543b	
△ + + + ∇	23·9		
△ + + + ∇	25·6	BM	
· + + + ·	24·5	BM*	} die duplicates.
· + + ·	24·6	BM*	
· + + + ·	24·2	BM*	} die duplicates.
· + + + ·	24·5	BM*	
· + + + ·	24·7	BM*	
· + + + ·	24·1	BM*	
· + + + ·	24·4	BM*	
· + + + ·	24·2	BM*	
· + + + ·	24·4	BM*	
· + + + ·	24·4	BM*	
· + + + ·	24·6	BM*	

<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Running number</i>	<i>Catalogue number</i>	<i>Rev. legend</i>	
Rægonulf [cont.]	326	A94c	RÆGENVLF (?)	(
	327	A94d	RÆGENVLF (?)	(
	328	B96c	RÆGENVLF (?)	(
	329	B98b	RÆGENVLF (?)	(
	330	B97a	RÆGENVLF (?)	(
	331	B98a	RÆGENVLF (?)	(
	332	B96d	RÆGENVLF (?)	(
	333	B97b	RÆGENVLF (?)	(
	334	B97c	RÆGENVLF (?)	(
	335	B97d	RÆGENVLF (?)	(
	336	B97e	RÆGENVLF (?)	(
	337	B98c	RÆGENVLF (?)	(
	338	B98d	RÆGENVLF (?)	(
	339	B98e	RÆGENVLF (?)	(
	340	B99a	RÆGENVLF (?)	(
	341	B99b	RÆGENVLF (?)	(
Rinhard (2) for Regenheard	342	A95c	RINH(lig.)A RD Mō	.
	343	B99c	RIHA RD Mō	.
Samson (1)	344	A95d	SANS VII Mō	.
Saraward (1)	345	A96a	SARAV VVRD O	
Sigar (1)	346	A97b	SIGAR MōNEA	.
Sigehelm (1)	347	B99e	ZIGELE MICHON	.
Sprou ? (6)	348	A96b	SPROV MōNE	.
	349	A97a	SPOV MōNE	.
	350	A96c	SPROV MōNE :-	.
	351	A96d	SPOV MōNE :-	.
	352	B100a	SPROV (?)	(
	353	B100b	SPROV (?)	(
Stefan (2)	354	A97c	SLEF†H AN Mō	.
	355	B100c	STEFH AN Mō	.
Thurlac (1)	356	A79a	ÞVRLP FAC Mō	.
Tidfred (1)	357	A97d	TIDFRE DHONE	.

<i>Rev. ornament</i>	<i>Weight</i>	<i>Location or illustr.</i>	<i>Comments</i>
?)	24.5		
?)	23.1		
?)	25.7		
?)	24.5		} die duplicates.
?)	24.8		
?)	26.2		} die duplicates.
?)	21.9		
?)	25.0		
?)	24.3		
?)	24.6		
?)	25.0		
?)	25.0		
?)	24.6		
?)	25.0		
?)	24.9		
?)	25.8		
. + + + .	26.4	BM	
. + + + .	24.9	L546b	
. + + + .	24.2	BM	
. + + +	23.8	C, BM	
. + + + .	23.5	L2729a,	
		BM*	
. + + + .	23.5	L3672b,	
		BM	
. + + + .	25.2	BM	
. + + + .	23.5	BM*	
. + + + .	21.1	BM	
. + + + .	24.2	BM	
?)	24.7		
?)	23.9		
. + + + .	23.1	BM*,	† 'F' inverted
		L544a	
. + + + .	24.0	C	
. + + + .	25.0	L2730c,	
		BM*	
. + + + .	24.2	L2729b,	
		C, BM*	

Tila (16)	358	A98a	TILAM ONETA
	359	B102b	TILAM ONETA
	360	A98c	TILAM ONETA
	361	A98d	TILAM ONETA
	362	A99b	TILAM ONETA
	363	A100d	TILAM ONETA
	364	A99a	TILAM ONETA
	365	B102a	TILAM ONETA
	366	A99c	TILAM ONETA
	367	A98b	TILAM ONETA
	368	A99d	TILAM ONETA
	369	B100c	TILAM ONETA
	370	B101c	TILAM ONETA
	371	B100d	TILA (?)
	372	B101b	TILA (?)
	373	B103a	TILA (?)
TORHTELM (6)	374	A100a	TORHT ELM MO
	375	B101d	TORHT ELM MO
	376	A100b	TORHT ELM MO
	377	B101e	TORHT ELM MÖ
	378	B102c	TORHT ELM MO
	379	A100c	TORTELM (?)
Waldulf (3)	380	A101a	VVALD VLF MÖ
	381	B103c	VVALD VLF MÖ
Walter (2)	382	B102d	VVALD VLF MÖ
	383	A103d	ÞALT ER EÖ
Warmer (2)	384	B104b	ÞALTER (?)
	385	B103b	VVAR MER MÖ
Wealdholm (2)	386	B104d	VVAR MER MÖ
	387	A103e	ÞEALD + ELM MÖ
Wehtulf (1)	388	B103f	VVEALD HELM MÖ
	389*	A101d	VVEHT VLF MÖ
Winegear (1)	390	B95d	ÞINEG EAR MÖ
Wulfheard (10)	391	A101c	VVLFE ARD MÖ
	392	B103d	VVLFE ARD MÖ
	393	B104f	VVLFE ARD MÖ
	394	A101b	VVLFE ARD MÖ

23.2	BM*	} die duplicates.
24.1	L3673a	
23.7	BM*	
24.3	BM	
23.7	BM*	
24.9	BM*	
25.2	BM*	
24.0	L3673b	
24.8	BM	† Cross of four pellets
24.5	BM*	} die duplicates.
24.8	BM*	
24.1		
24.1		
25.2		
24.9		
25.0		
24.0	BM*	} die duplicates.
22.6		
18.6	BM	
28.1	BM	
23.8	L544b	
20.6		
23.8	L2729c, C, BM*	} die duplicates.
24.2		
25.9	BM*	
25.2	BM*	
25.3		
24.3	L3673c	
24.4	BM	
22.6	BM*	
22.7	L3674a	
23.7	L3678a, BM*	
24.7	BM, L545b	
24.0	BM*	} die duplicates.
23.8		
26.6		
24.8	BM*	

<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Running number</i>	<i>Catalogue number</i>	<i>Rev. legend</i>
Wulfheard [cont.]	395	A102b	VVLFE ARD Mō
	396	A103a	VVLFE(lig.) ARD Mō
	397	A102c	VVLFE+ AR†D MO
	398	A102d	VVLFE(lig.)E ARD MO
	399	B103e	VVLFE+ AR†D (?)
Wulfred	400	B104e	VVLFE(lig.)ARD (?)
	401	B102e	VVEF RED Mō
	402	B104a	VVEF RED Mō
	403	B104e	VVLFE (?)
Wulfstan (1)	404	A103b	VVLFS TANM(lig.)O
Undecipherable (6)	405*	B88c	EDREO VBEC+
	406	A83b	EHAI IEIIO
	407	A88d	HAHE(lig.)R EIE IOH
	408	A103e	HEVC+ MUNO
	409	B94a	IOIVID DVOI
	410	A103f	(?)
BMC TYPE III			
Beahred (8)	411	B2S	BEAH RED Mō
	412	B29	BEAH RED Mō
	413	B30	BEAH RED Mō
	414	B31	BEAH RED Mō
	415	A19	BEAH RED Mō
	416	A20	BEAH RED Mō
	417	A21	BEAN(?)RED MO
	418	A22	BEAH RED Mō
Beahstan (2)	419*	A23	BEAHS TAN Mō
	420*	B32	BEAHS TAN Mō
Beornwold (1)	421*	B27	BEORN DOLD Mō
Burhelm (4)	422	A24	BVRH ELM Mō
	423	B33	BVRH ELM Mō
	424	B34	BVRH ELM Mō
	425	B35	BVRHELM MO

<i>Rev. ornament</i>	<i>Weight</i>	<i>Location or illustr.</i>	<i>Comments</i>
⋈ + + + ⋈	24.2	BM*	
⋈ + + + ⋈	24.5	BM*	
+ + +	24.2	BM*	† 'R' inverted and retrograde.
+ + +	25.3	BM*	
?)	24.1		† 'R' inverted and retrograde.
?)	24.5		
⋈ + + + ⋈	21.0	L3678c	} die duplicates.
⋈ + + + ⋈	20.6		
?)	23.6		
⋈ + + + ⋈	16.7	BM*	N.B. low weight.
+ + +	20.4	L3675a	
⋈ + + + ⋈	24.8	BM	
⋈ + + + ⋈	24.1	C, BM*	
⋈ + + + ⋈	24.0	BM*	Chester '31'
⋈ + + + ⋈	23.4	C	
?)	16.5		Broken.

(PORTRAIT)

⋈ + ⋈ + + + ⋈	24.9	BM	} die duplicates.
⋈ + ⋈ + + + ⋈	24.3		
⋈ + ⋈ + + + ⋈	Broken		} die duplicates.
⋈ + ⋈ + + + ⋈	23.2		
⋈ + ⋈ + + + ⋈	24.0	BM*	
⋈ + ⋈ + + + ⋈	25.0	BM*	
⋈ + ⋈ + + + ⋈	24.6		
⋈ + ⋈ + + + ⋈	23.6	BM*	
⋈ + ⋈ + + + ⋈	24.4	L531, C, BM*	
⋈ + ⋈ + + + ⋈	20.0	C, BM	
+ + +	23.2	C	
⋈ + ⋈ + + + ⋈	23.5	BM*	
⋈ + ⋈ + + + ⋈	24.8	BM, C	
⋈ + + + ⋈	24.1	C	
⋈ + + + ⋈	23.1		

Deorwald (1)	426	B36	DEORVVALD MŌ
Ealhstan (3)	427	B38	EALHSTAN MO
	428	B39	EALHSTAN MO
	429	B37	EALHSTAN MŌ
Ec(g)laf (2)	430	A26	ELLAF MONETA
	431	A27	ELLAF MONETA
Framwis (1)	432	B40	FRAMV VIS MO
Gareard (3)	433	B41	GAREARD MŌ
	434	B42	GAREARD MO
	435	A29	GAREARD MŌ
Grimwald (2)	436	B43	GRIMÞALD MŌ
	437	A38A	GRIMÞALD MŌ
Heremod (1)	438	B44	HEREO MED M
Igere (3)	439*	A37	CIEREL NOH IL
	440	B48	HC(lig.)ERE MONELV
	441	B47	ICEREH NONETA
Iva (1)	442	B49	IVAM ONETA
Liofhelm (2) for Leof-	443	A31	LIOFH ELMMO
	444	A32	LIOFH ELM MO
Otgri (1)	445*	B50	OTGRI FECEP K
Rægenulf(1)	446	B51	REGENVLF MO
Sigod (1)	447	A35	SIGODM ONETA
Thurlae (1)	448	A25	DVRL AC MŌ
Tila (3)	449	A36	TILA MONETA
	450	B53	TILA MONETA
	451	B54	TILAM ONELV
Wulfred (3)	452	A38	VVLF RED MO
	453*	A39	VVLF · RED MŌ
	454	B55	VVLF RED MŌ
Moneyer's names	455	A28	FRAHRE HIOHAI
undecipherable (8)	456	B46	EIRISHO IEISHMIOI
	457	A18	AH II AH A II H A II

¹ Mr Robert Erskine was kind enough to draw attention to this die-link.

	24.7		
	24.0		
	24.6		
	24.5		
	25.1	BM*	
	24.4	BM*	
	25.2	C	
	24.4		} die duplicates.
	23.3		
	Broken	BM*	
	23.3		
	22.2	C, BM*	
	18.3	C	
	21.8	L3653, BM*	Overstruck (on obverse?)
	Chipped	BM	
	25.7	L3654	
	26.1	C	
	23.4	C, BM	
	Chipped		
	22.5	L2712, C	Script 'c' and 'g'.
	24.5		
	22.0	C, BM*	
	23.2	C, BM*	†Cross of four pellets.
	Chipped		
	24.3		
	26.6	L2713, C	Obverse retrograde. Same obv. die as no. 457. ¹
	24.2	C, BM*	
	23.8	C, BM*	
	24.0	C	
	24.4	C	
	25.0	L2711, C	
	23.3	C, BM	Obv. retrograde, same obv. die as no. 451. ¹

<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Running number</i>	<i>Catalogue number</i>	<i>Rev. legend</i>	<i>Rev. ornament</i>	<i>Weight</i>	<i>Location or illustr.</i>	<i>Comments</i>
Moneyer's names undecipherable [cont.]	458	A30	IOLE(?)EIO DERB	∴ + + + ∴	19.0	C, BM	Obv. blundered.
	459	A33	OTAR†M MOIEM	∴ + + + ∴	20.4	C, BM	† 'r' retrograde.
	460*	A34	NEIOIR HEICIO	∴ + + + ∴	25.8	L534, C, BM*	
	461*	B45	HEICIO HER†IOV	∴ + + + ∴	20.8	C	Obv. blundered † 'r' inverted
	462	B52	SEIAN OEIDIEI	∴ + + + ∴	14.8	C	N.B. very low weight Obv. blundered.
BMC IV (PORTRAIT: RIGHT FACING)							
Atenohert? (1)	463*	A16	ALEN OHERT	∴ + + + ∴	20.7	C, BM*	
Londbriht (1)	464*	A16	LONDB RIHT MO	∴ + + + ∴	24.3	C, BM	
Wulfred (1)	465*	B26	VVL†F† R†ED KO	∴ + + + ∴	20.?	C	'L', 'F' and 'R' inverted and retrograde.
Moneyers' names undecipherable (4)	466*	B23	HEIOIR OHEICI	∴ + ∴ + + + ∴ + ∴	19.5	C, L530	Beaded line above and below crosses.
	467*	B24	MOS(?)A SMLN	∴ + + + ∴ + ∴	21.3	C, L3652	Obv. retrograde
	468	A17	COIEM OICIAM	∴ + + + ∴	20.7	L529 C, BM*	
	469	B25	R†IOIRN† CIRHO	∴ + + + ∴	23.7	C, L3651	† 'r', 'n' retrograde
BMC VII							
Athulf (1)	470	A40	ADVLFM		22.3	C, BM*	Chester 'm'. Moneyer's name retrograde.
BMC VII var. 'a'							
W(y)berht (1)	471	A41	ƿBERHT 6		24.8	L517, C, BM*	
BMC VIII							
Brece (1)	472	A42	BRE CE		24.6	C, BM*	

BMC IX

Aethulf (1)	473	A43	ADVLF MO	23.8	L520, C, BM*	} Slightly differing designs
Eoformund (1)	474*	B57	EOFERHVED	24.6	C, L2721	

BMC XII

Cuthbert (1)	475	A44	CV DB ER HT	24.3	C, BM*
Eadwald (1)	476	B58	EA DV VA LD	25.2	C, L2718
Wulfsgo (2)	477*	B59	VV LF SI GE	24.2	C
	478	B60	VV LF SI GE	Broken	

BMC XIII

Wulfgar (1)	479*	A45	VVLFGAR	24.0	C, BM*
-------------	------	-----	---------	------	--------

BMC XIV

Wulfheard (1)	480*	A46	VVLFHE(lig.) ARDMO	25.0	L515, C, BM*
---------------	------	-----	----------------------	------	-----------------

BMC XIV var. or mule with II/III

Wulfheard (2)	481*	A47	VVLFHE(lig.) ARDMO	24.6	C, BM*	} die duplicates.
	482	B56	VVLFHE(lig.) ARDMO	23.8	C, L2720	

ÆTHELSTAN (924-939)

BMC I

Aelfwine (1)	483	B108a	ÆLFWINE (?)	(?)	25.0		
Æthelsige (1)	484	B105a	ÆDELSIG E MONE	÷ + + + ÷	19.4	L551a	
Alfcau (1) for Alfheah	485*	A106b	ALFEA VMONE(lig.)T	∴ + + + ∴	20.5	BM*	Same rev. die as no. 96
Aethelulf (1)	486	A106a	ADELVLV MO	∴ + + + ∴	24.7		
Beorhtric (2)	487	A107a	BEORHT RIC MO	∴ + + + ∴	24.6	L2731b, C, BM*	
	488	B110b	BEORHTRIC (?)	(?)	22.6		

<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Running number</i>	<i>Catalogue number</i>	<i>Rev. legend</i>	
Be(o)rhtelm (1)	489	B106a	BERHT(lig.) ELM Mō	..
Bioga (4)	490	A106c	BIOG AMOT	..
	491	B105b	BIOG AMOT	..
	492	B107b	BIOG AMOT	..
	493	B107c	BIOG AMOT	..
	494	A70c	Biorht ÐALD Mō	..
Biorhtwald (1) for Beorht—				
Burhelm (1)	495	A107b	BVRHE HE(lig.)M Mō	..
Byrnwie (1)	496*	A107c	BYRNX(lig.)V IO MōN	+
Cynerof (1)	497*	B106b	CYNER OF MōE	..
Dryhtwald (1)	498	A108a	DRYHT VALD Mō	..
Eadmund (1)	499	A108b	EADMV ND Mō	..
Ealhstan (2)	500	A52b	EALS TAN Mō	..
Earnulf (1)	501	B107a	EALHS TAN Mō	..
	502	B108b	EARNV LF MONE	..
	503	B109a	GARE ARD Mō	..
	504	B109b	GARV LF Mō	..
	505	B109c	IOHAN N MōN	..
	506	B110a	IOHANN (?)	..
	507	A108c	IOHAN N MōN	+
Liofhelm (1)	508	B108c	CIOEH ELM M	..
Rægonald (1)	509	A109a	RÆGEN ALD Mō	..
Wealdhelm (3)	510	A110a	VVEALD HE(lig.)LM Mō	..
Wilric (1)	511	A109b	VVEALD HELM Mō	..
	512	A110b	VVEALD HELM Mō	..
	513	A109c	VVILRI C MōNE	..
	514	B110c	PINE LE Mō	..
	515	A102a	VVLFHE(lig.) ARD Mō	..

<i>Rev. ornament</i>	<i>Weight</i>	<i>Location or illustr.</i>	<i>Comments</i>
+ + + ∙	24.7	L551b	
+ + + ∙	24.7	BM*	
+ + + ∙	24.8	C, L3679b	} die duplicates.
+ + + ∙	24.5		
+ + + ∙	24.6		
+ + + ∙	23.9	L551c, BM*	Listed under Edward in catalogue.
+ + + ∙	18.3	L3679c, BM*	
+ + + †	20.8	L3680a, BM*	† Cross of four pellets
+ + + ∙	23.1	C, L2731c	
+ + + ∙	22.2	L3680b, BM*	
+ + + ∙	24.6	BM*	
+ + + ∙	24.6	BM*	Listed as mon. EDELSTAN under Edward the Elder.
+ + + ∙	22.5	L552b	
+ + + ∙	19.3	L3680c	
+ + + ∙	24.3	L3681a	
+ + + ∙	23.8	L2732a	
+ + + ∙	20.3	C, L553a	
+ + + ∙	20.7		
+ + + †	20.0	L2732b, BM*	† Rosette of pellets.
+ + + ∙	18.5	C, L552a	
+ + + ∙	24.9	L554a, BM*	
+ + + ∙	23.2	L554b, C, BM*	
+ + + ∙	22.1	BM*	} die duplicates.
+ + + ∙	24.2	BM*	
+ + + ∙	20.1	BM*	
+ + + ∙	24.2	L2732c	
+ + + ∙	24.2		Listed under Edward the Elder.

Portrait types with circumscript reverse legends (No BMC number)

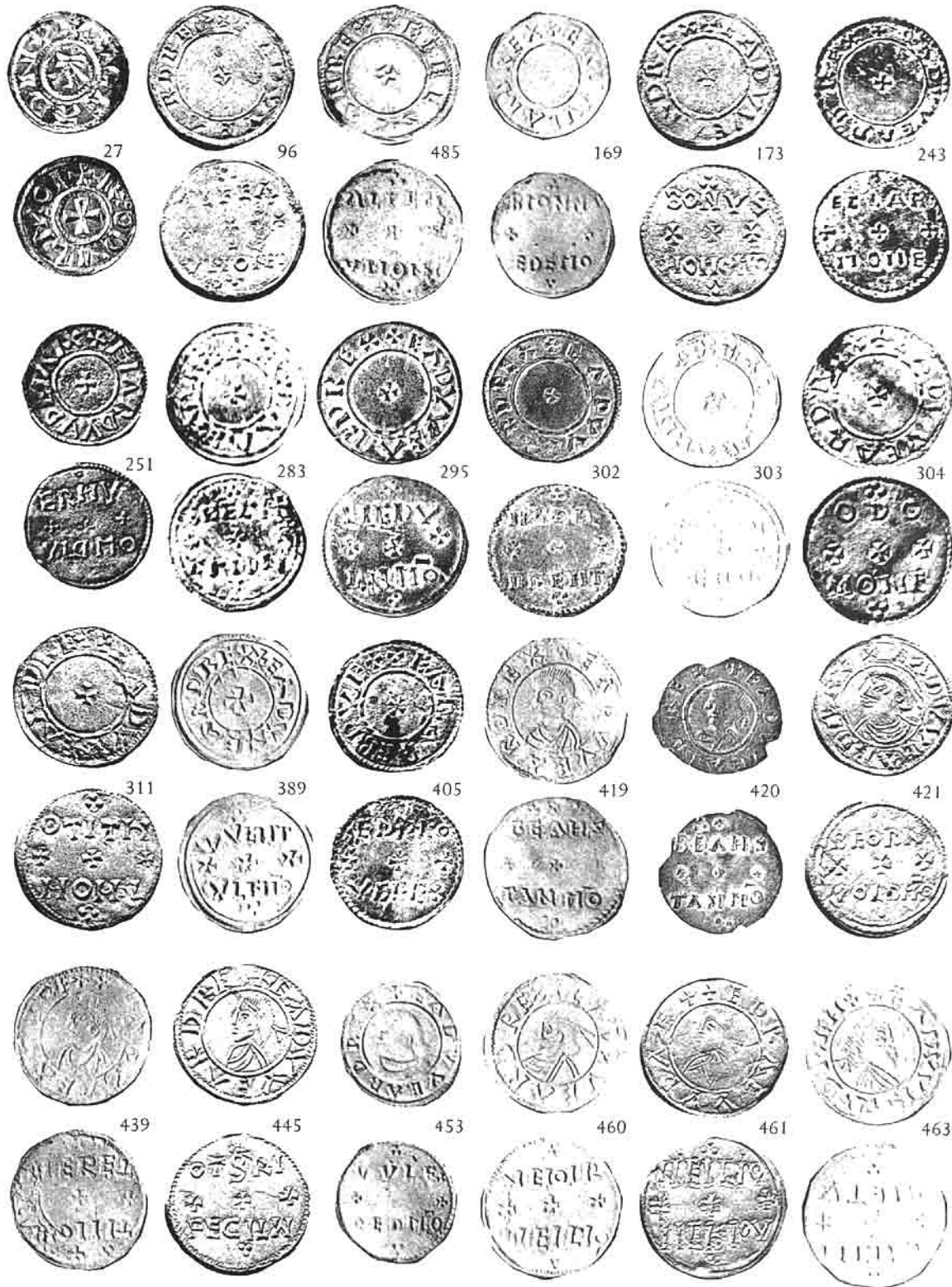
<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Running number</i>	<i>Catalogue number</i>	<i>Rev. legend</i>	<i>Rev. ornament</i>	<i>Weight</i>	<i>Location or illustr.</i>	<i>Comments</i>
Athelgar (1)	516*	A104	+ADELGAR MONETA		24.7	C, BM	Bust right, diademed, contained in inner circle.
Gareard (1)	517*	A105	+GAREARD MONETA		23.5	C, L557	Bust right, diademed, descending to edge of coin.

Foreign coins associated with the hoard

518,	519	B113a, b	Charles III, the Simple (892-923) Deniers of the Cologne mint. Prou 83, or Prou 82-Gariel XL. 1.
520,	521	B113 c, d	Louis IV, the Child (900-911) Deniers of the Cologne mint. Prou 80-Gariel 18-20, pl. LXIV (one of these is illustrated in C, and is now in the BM trays. It is illustrated in the accompanying plates.)
522*,	523	B114, B115,	Rudolph of Burgundy (922-926) Deniers of the Pavia mint. <i>C.N.I. IV</i> , pl. XL, 1 var. (522 is illustrated in C)

Anglo-Saxon Ingots

524*	B111	Oblong ingot, flattened, rounded at one end with the appearance of a stamp. (C)	957 grs.
525	B112a	Oblong ingot, both ends rounded.	398 grs.
526	B112b	Two pieces of ingot.	(Together) 700 grs.



A PROBABLE FOURTH KENTISH MINT OF ÆTHELSTAN

By R. H. M. DOLLEY

IN a paper printed in the 1956 *Numismatic Chronicle*¹ I published and illustrated a *circumscription* (BMC v = Brooke 5 = North 672) penny of Æthelstan (924–939) with the following reverse legend:—

+ TORHTELM M^o TO LI^o.

The suggestion was made that the coin had been struck at Leicester, a ‘new’ mint for the reign, and the penny in question was further associated with five coins by a moneyer Thurstan from perhaps two reverse dies where the legends end + TO LIECVI and XTO LIEI respectively. When, however, my friend Mr. J. J. North was putting the final touches to the first volume of his *English Hammered Coinage* (London, 1963), I began to have second thoughts about the attribution of the Torhtelm coin, and at my suggestion a point of interrogation was placed after the name of this particular moneyer.² In the present note it will be argued that the Torhtelm coin—but not those of Thurstan—should be given to Lymne in Kent, likewise a ‘new’ mint for the reign. It should be stressed, though, that the Leicester attribution of the Thurstan coins is not in question, and Leicester remains in my opinion incontrovertibly a mint of Æthelstan.

Nearly ten years have elapsed since the 1956 note was written, and inevitably my acquaintance with the coinage of Æthelstan has both widened and deepened. In particular I have been afforded the opportunity of inspecting the unrivalled run of coins of that reign from the ‘Forum Hoard’ which are preserved in the Museo Nazionale at Rome, and of studying a set of direct photographs made available to me by the courtesy of my friend Mr. C. E. Blunt. Only less critical has been inspection of the Æthelstan trays in the National Museum of Antiquities at Edinburgh, their strength deriving in the main from the neglected ‘Skye’ hoard of 1891 (*Inventory* 312), and, again through the kindness of Mr. R. B. K. Stevenson, I have been able to check my original impressions against the set of casts prepared in connection with the forthcoming Edinburgh fascicule of the British Academy’s new *Sylloge*. As a result of these studies I find myself no longer prepared to place so much reliance on fabric by itself as a basis of attribution, and my earlier hint that it was too subjective a criterion may seem more than justified. Certainly the Torhtelm coin cannot now be assigned to a mint outside Southern England on the strength of its fabric alone.

In the 1956 note especial emphasis was laid on the absence of the locative prepositions ON and TO from dies employed at mints on or south of the Thames. Now, however, there are known to me at least three coins from Southern England where the preposition to separates the *monetarius* contraction from the mint-signature. The coins are a *circumscription* penny of Shaftesbury with reverse legend + ADELPOLD · MO TO · SCEFT in the Hunterian Museum (*Sylloge* 625), a hitherto unrecognized *two line/circumscription* ‘mule’ of Hertford with legend + ABONEL MON TO HIORTFD in the Museo Nazionale, and a *circumscription* penny in the same collection with reverse legend PIHTVLF · MO · TO BRIDIAN which Mr. Blunt, with my entire

¹ R. H. M. Dolley, ‘A Provisional Note on the Origins of the Leicester Mint’, *NC* 1956, pp. 285–291.

² North, *op. cit.*, I, p. 93.

concurrence, will shortly be attributing to Bredy/Bridport, yet another 'new' mint for the reign. A consequence of this must be that we look at the Torhtelm penny with new eyes, and my feeling is that more attention should have been paid not only to at least one important point of difference from the epigraphy of the Thurstan coins, but also to the circumstance that Torhtelm otherwise is known only for Canterbury—at least where this reign is concerned.

If we examine the Thurstan coins, we find the *monetarius* contraction in each case divided off from the preposition by a cross, in one instance a '+' and in the other by a '×'. Moreover on both dies the mint-signature runs to four or six letters, whereas on the Torhtelm die it is no more than two. Generally, too, the epigraphy of the Leicester coins is 'tighter', whereas that of the Torhtelm penny is identical with that found on coins of a wide variety of mints in Southern England. On this telling, then, a *prima facie* case may be thought to exist for our considering seriously the possibility that the coin with mint-signature LI- belongs to a mint other than Leicester.

To turn now to the question of the other pennies of Æthelstan by a moneyer Torhtelm, one of *portrait* type is without mint-signature (BMC viii = Brooke 4 = North 673). The bust, however, is one that is consistent in every way with an attribution either to Canterbury or to Lymne.¹ Three are of *circumscription* type, and four of the *portrait* type with mint-signature (BMC viii = Brooke 4 = North 675). All seven emanate from a mint with signature DOR, DOR CIV etc., and this must surely be Canterbury. We know from the Grately decree that the Canterbury mint was to have a quota of seven moneyers, whereas Dorchester is stated [*Quadrupartitus* version] to have been allowed no more than one. It is instructive to compare the figures for known moneyers and surviving coins, contrasting the other Dorset mints on the one hand and the DOR (CIV) mint on the other:—²

	<i>Moneyers allowed by Grately Laws</i>	<i>Moneyers known</i>	<i>Surviving coins</i>
Bridport	1*	1	1
Shaftesbury	2	2	4
Wareham	2	2	3
DOR (CIV)	7	5	31

*by inference

The disproportion between the extant 8 coins from the three certain Dorset mints on the one hand, and the 31 from DOR (CIV) on the other is such that the possibility of the latter signature being for Dorchester may seem to be precluded absolutely. Moreover in the case of all five of the DOR (CIV) moneyers, at least one die for each is known which includes enough of the *civitas* element for us to be confident that it is the Canterbury mint-signature which is being essayed. Torhtelm, then, is a Canterbury moneyer beyond any shadow of doubt.

A check of the available material has failed to reveal an actual die-link between Lymne and Canterbury, but in the later Saxon period there is a close prosopographical connection between the moneyers of the two mints which are separated by no more than fifteen miles. In the period c. 973–985, for example, of five Lymne moneyers, Æthestan, Eadstan, Byrhtic, Leofric and (Leof)-wine, three certainly strike at Canterbury, while in the period c. 985–1003

¹ A *portrait* coin would be, of course, an anomaly for Leicester at this period when the Midlands generally seem to eschew the royal bust.

² These provisional figures have been arrived at on the basis of the coins recorded in Mr. C. E. Blunt's

card-index. Where coins of Æthelstan are concerned he has combed the available material with fair thoroughness, and it is unlikely that the picture they give will be found to be seriously misleading.

of four Lymne moneyers, Eadstan, Edwerd, Godric and Leofric, two at least are known for the Kentish capital. The historical evidence suggests that Lymne had borough status at an early date, and under the Grately decrees would presumably have been granted—like Dover—the right to one moneyer. As it happens, Dover in this reign is also known from a single mint-signed coin, and the argument is not really weakened by the circumstance that Rochester with an authorized quota of three moneyers likewise appears to be known from but a single mint-signed coin. As we shall see, there is some reason to think that most of the West Saxon mints away from the crossing-places of the Thames may not have struck on the scale suggested by, even if they had taken up, their full quota of moneyers. However this may be, though, the case for Lymne as a mint of Æthelstan is a strong one, and my belief is that the principle that *monetae non sunt multiplicandae praeter necessitatem* should no longer be pressed. If it be objected that I am postulating ambiguity by allowing there to be two mints, Leicester and Lymne, with mint-signatures of which the first two letters are LI, I can retort that not much more than fifty years later there are certainly three, Leicester, Lincoln and Lymne, and that in practice confusion between them is negligible.

In conclusion I would like to draw attention to some curious disproportions in the ratios of surviving coins. From Canterbury, as we have seen, we have 31 coins by only five moneyers, though the quota of Canterbury moneyers was to be seven. Of London mint-signed coins on the other hand, we have probably 115 from a total of fourteen moneyers, the Grately quota being no more than eight. Not only, then, do there seem to be more London and fewer Canterbury moneyers than there is provision for, but the output of the London mint is nearly four times that of Canterbury, although the moneyer quota would have suggested a disproportion merely of eight to seven. It seems to me that two factors are here involved. The first is that we have no right to assume that the quotas fixed at Grately were sacrosanct for all time. Perhaps, too, the discrepancy between the fourteen moneyers actual and the eight allowed at any one time may be explained by the assumption that within the currency of the two main issues involved a proportion of the personnel was replaced, though on this telling one might have to be prepared to concede that at Canterbury no more than three moneyers were striking at any given time, a widening of the discrepancy between quota and practice. Inasmuch, then, as at a later date the number of London moneyers in a given type could be more than three times that of the Æthelstan quota, I would prefer to leave open the possibility that even within a matter of years there was an upward modification of the figure prescribed at Grately. The second factor to which I would draw attention is the apparent higher productivity of the moneyers at the three Æthelstan mints situated on the line of the Thames. Unfortunately we cannot be sure whether or not Oxford and Wallingford came within the ambit of the Grately decrees. These would seem to apply to the whole of Wessex, and after 911 one would have supposed Oxford and Wallingford to have been an integral part of the West Saxon kingdom. On the other hand, if this was the case, both boroughs ought to have had a quota of no more than one moneyer apiece, whereas of Oxford eight and of Wallingford three moneyers are known from the 32 coins extant today. While one might hesitate to claim that the importance of the Oxford and Wallingford mints combined approximated to that of the Canterbury mint at this period, though later the equation does seem valid, it would seem that the Thames Valley mints were more productive if not being driven considerably harder than many of the smaller mints to the south and west of that line.

Significant in this context is the following table:—¹

	<i>Moneyers allowed by Grately Laws</i>	<i>Moneyers known</i>	<i>Surviving coins</i>
London	8	14	120
Oxford	?	8	22
Wallingford	?	2	10
Canterbury	7	5	31
Winchester	6	8	37
Rochester	3	1	1
Exeter	2	2	6
Lewes	2	2	3
Shaftesbury	2	2	4
Southampton	2	2	3
Wareham	2	2	3
Chichester	1	1	3
Dorchester	1§	—	—
Hastings	1	—	—
Dover	1*	—	—
Bath	1*	2?	3
Bridport	1*	1	1
Langport	1*	2	5
Totnes†	1*	1	2
§ <i>Quadripartitus</i>	*by inference	†if DARENT VRBS ²	

Even more suggestive are the proportions in which the above mints are represented in the 'Forum' hoard from Rome:—

London	66	Canterbury	20	Chichester	1
Oxford	10	Winchester	14	Dorchester	—
Wallingford	3	Rochester	—	Hastings	—
		Exeter	5	Dover	—
		Lewes	1	Bath	2
		Shaftesbury	1	Bridport	1
		Southampton	1	Langport	2
		Wareham	—	Totnes	1

On the assumption, probably justified, that this hoard represents a fair cross-section of the English coinage, London emerges as incomparably the most important mint in Southern England, and elsewhere in this *Journal* it is suggested that the greater number of moneyers at Chester is deceptive in that the number of coins struck by each moneyer may well have been much smaller, and so the pre-eminence of London remains unchallenged.³ It is an interesting commentary on the wisdom of Ælfred's coup of 886, and the relative importance of the newly established mints at Oxford and Wallingford may suggest that the Thames Valley mints were attracting quite substantial quantities of bullion from the Southern Danelaw. In this connection it is to be noted that we are at present without mint-signed coins of this period not only from the new *burhs* at Aylesbury and Buckingham, but also from the former Danish strongholds at Bedford, Northampton, Huntingdon and Cambridge, substantial centres of coining under Eadgar and his successors.

¹ Again the figures are taken from Mr. Blunt's card-index, and I must put on record my deep gratitude to him for making them available to me. I may add that I would not be putting forward the attribution of the Torhtelm coin to Lymne if I

did not believe it to command his general assent.

² M. Dolley, *Anglo-Saxon Pennies* (London, 1964), p. 22, cf. North, *op. et pag. cit.*

³ *Infra*, pp. 39–44.

A SMALL PARCEL OF *FIRST HAND* PENNIES OF ÆTHELRÆD II FROM THE 1863 IPSWICH HOARD

By R. H. M. DOLLEY

IN June 1963 Mr. H. de S. Shortt was kind enough to draw the attention of Mr. C. E. Blunt to a parcel of five *First Hand* pennies and two fragments which had come to light among the effects of a friend of an acquaintance. It was suggested that Mr. Blunt should publish the group, but very generously Mr. Blunt has invited the present writer to undertake the task. It is one that the writer finds the more attractive because among the unpublished results of his twelve visits to Stockholm is a detailed stylistic analysis of the *First Hand* issue of Æthelræd II in which for the first time there are distinguished the products of a number of regional centres engaged on the engraving of the dies for distribution to mints over a wide area. Not only does the new parcel supply further evidence for this pattern, but a dispassionate review of the 1863 Ipswich hoard (*Inventory* 199) with which it is most certainly to be associated leaves little room for doubt but that the *First Hand* and *Second Hand* types were quite distinct issues. If it is perhaps only when the student is confronted with really large numbers of coins of both types that the distinctions become obvious, it may just be remarked here that the two issues were struck on very different weight-standards, and that for practical purposes the dies for the *Second Hand* coinage were produced all at a single centre. When, too, there is published a reliable account of the 1841 'Marl Valley' (Mullingar) find from Ireland (*Inventory* 265) with due emphasis placed on one or two coins from the hoard which are now in the British Museum, and when this account is placed beside detailed descriptions of certain English and Swedish hoards, the disparity of the two issues should become immediately apparent, and there is the further point that critics of the provisional chronology worked out by the Stockholm team seem never to have appreciated, let alone faced up to, the problems which would arise if the date of the succeeding *Cruz* issue were to be brought back before c. 990. It cannot be stressed too much that the besetting temptation of English numismatists is to work in isolation, and it is disappointing that there should be so little recognition of the way in which the German material in particular demands that the two *Hand* issues between them extend over a period of a decade at the very least, *i.e.* constitute two distinct issues as that term is usually understood by the Anglo-Saxon numismatist.

On receipt of the coins from Mr. Shortt at the British Museum, the two fragments were passed to Mr. K. A. Howes who confirmed that they belonged to the same coin. Before they could be re-united, however, it was necessary for there to be removed a thick corrosion, and this had to be done mechanically, the work occupying Mr. Howes the greater part of a day. The patient and skilful labour was more than justified in the event, as the coin not only is unpublished, but proves to be unique of the type for the mint in question, and adds very considerably to our knowledge of the particular variety. Through the generosity of Mr. H. R. Mossop, too, it has been possible to add it and three of the whole coins to the National Collection, the coins presented by Mr. Mossop being distinguished by an asterisk in the list that follows.

A catalogue of the six coins runs:—

ÆTHELRÆD II (978–1016)

First Hand issue (? Michaelmas 979–Michaelmas 985)

(1*)	+ÆDELREDREXANGLORX (NG lig.; ORX lig.) E. Anglian style A. Cf. Hild. 1098.	0°	+PALTFERDM [—] OGIP <i>Ipswich, Waltferth.</i>	26.7 grains
(2)	+ÆDELREDREXANGLORX (NG lig.; ORX lig.) 'Lincoln' style. Hild. 1764/5 var.	90°	+FERDENM [—] OLINDCOL <i>Lincoln, Ferthe(i)n.</i>	23.9 grains
(3*)	+ÆDELREDREXANGLORX (NG lig.; ORX lig.) Southern style. Hild. 2195 var.	0°	+ÆDELREDM [—] OLVND <i>London, Æthelred.</i>	25.8 grains
(4*)	+ÆDELREDREXANGLORX (NG lig.; ORX lig.) Southern style. Cf. Hild. 2612.	180°	+GODPINEM [—] OLVND <i>London, Godwine.</i>	24.1 grains
(5)	+ÆDELREDREXANGLOX (NG lig.) E. Anglian style B. Cf. Hild. 3677.	90°	+ÆADGARM [—] ODEOTFOR <i>Thetford, Æadgar.</i>	24.8 grains

First Hand variant (left-facing bust)

(Autumn 979?)

(6*)	+ÆDEL—REXA—LORX (ORX lig.) [Pl. I, no. G] S.E. style. Hild. —.	0°	+LE—PINE—LIMA <i>Lymne, Leofwine.</i>	Two fragments.
------	--	----	--	----------------

Of the individual coins, no. 1 is from dies unrepresented in the British Museum, Hunter and Fitzwilliam—rather surprisingly, perhaps, since coins with the reading in question seem to have been present in the Ipswich find in very considerable number. Coin no. 2 is from dies which are otherwise unknown, and the writer is very grateful to Mr. Mossop for corroboration of this. The moneyer of no. 3 is, of course, the Æthered of Hild. 2195–2200, but the spelling appears to be unrecorded. It is no. 6, however, that is the real rarity. The variety is one unknown hitherto for a mint which in itself is by no means common, and the moneyer is new for the mint unless, as is possible, we are to regard the Wine of Hild. 1618 as a hypocoristic form of Leofwine.

The question that now confronts the student is whether the parcel of six coins is from a known find or from one hitherto unrecorded. Generally it is a sound principle that *thesauri non sunt multiplicandi præter necessitatem*, and in this particular case there was no suggestion that the coins constituted a hoard in their own right. There is, too, a most significant concordance between the new parcel and the only major hoard from England to be composed entirely of *First Hand* pennies of Æthelræd II, the 1863 hoard from Ipswich to which allusion has already been made. The geographical distribution of the mints of the six coins submitted by Mr. Shortt is as follows:—

Mints in Kent	1
London Mint	2
Mints in Eastern Counties	3
Mints elsewhere in England	—

As we will see, there are certain defects in the *Inventory* summary of the Ipswich hoard, but a new analysis of 69 coins which can be shown to be from the find gives the following result:—

Mints in Kent	10
London Mint	14
Mints in Eastern Counties	38
Mints elsewhere in England	7

The coincidence of the two patterns is remarkable, and it is also worth remarking that four of the six coins in Mr. Shortt's parcel are by moneyers certainly represented in the Ipswich hoard. Moreover the distinctive dark patina of the six new pieces can be matched exactly on coins known to be from Ipswich, and in particular there occurs the same adhesion of a reddish oxide which is mentioned in Sir John Evans' original account of the discovery. There is the further point that Mr. Shortt's researches have established that an earlier owner of the coins had East Anglican connections, and, bearing in mind the paucity of English finds where *First Hand* is represented at all strongly and the fact that Evans was able to list no more than 15% of the Ipswich hoard, there is a presumption which amounts almost to certainty that the six coins submitted by Mr. Shortt derive from the Ipswich hoard of exactly a century ago.

As already remarked, the *Inventory* summary is not altogether satisfactory, and we may cite among its errors of commission the suggestion that all the coins described were of *BMC* type ii, an excessively rare variety known today from fewer than a score of coins, and among the errors of omission the failure to pick up the important supplementary list which 'J. H. Pollexfen' (*recte* Pollexfen) published in the 1868 *Numismatic Chronicle*. The student of tenth-century English coinage, therefore, may welcome the following new account of the Ipswich find in slightly modified *Inventory* format which takes account of the Pollexfen parcel and also of the six coins listed in this note:—

199 IPSWICH (Suffolk), corner of Old Butter Market and White Hart Lane, 24th October, 1863.

About 500 AR Anglo-Saxon pennies (75 listed). Deposit: *c.* 983 ± 2.

KINGS OF ENGLAND: Æthelred II, *BMC* (A) type ii *Canterbury*: Boia, 2 (?). *Lymne*: Leofwine, 1. *BMC* (A) type ii var. a *Bath*: Æthelsige, 1. *Bedford*: Oswi, 1. *Cambridge*: Hunstan, 1. *Canterbury*: Boia, 1; Leofric, 1; Lifinc, 1. *Dover*: Leofgar, 1. *Huntingdon*: Ælfrie, 1. *Ipswich*: Godman, 1; Leo(f)man, 3; Leofric, 7; Osulf, 1; Waltferth, 10. *Lincoln*: Ferthen, 1. *London*: Ælfgar, 2; Ælfwine, 1; Æthe(l) red, 3; Æthestan, 1; Beornwulf, 1; Eadwold, 1; Godwine, 3; Leofheh, 1; Lofric, 2; Wufrie, 1. *Lymne*: Eadstan, 1. *Maldon*: Eadwold, 1. *Northampton*: Leofsig, 1. *Norwich*: Livine, 1; Mannine, 1; Swyrtinc, 1. *Rochester*: Eadeln, 3. *Southampton*: Æthelward, 1. *Stamford*: Grim, 1; Wulstan, 1. *Thetford*: Æadgar, 1; Osferth, 2; Swyrlinc, 1. *Worcester*: Man, 1. *York*: Fastulf, 1; Oda, 1; Sunulf, 1; Ulf, 1. *BMC* (A) type ii var. b *Ipswich*: Wilbert, 1. *Norwich*: Brantine, 1; Livine, 1; Mannine, 1.

John Evans in *NC* (N.S.) iv (1864), pp. 28ff. (*cf.* also p. 225); J. H. Pollexfen in *NC* (N.S.) viii (1868), pp. 179f.; R. H. M. Dolley in *BNJ* 4 XXXIII (1964), pp. ??? f.f.; *cf.* J. Warren sale (Sotheby, 22–24 : iii : 1869) lots 50–52; J. H. Pollexfen sale (Sotheby, 26–28 : vi : 1900) lot 49.

Disposition: only 100–120 of the coins were in good condition. The above list comprises 60 listed by Evans in *NC* 1864, 8 noted by Pollexfen in *NC* 1868, 1 additional specimen described in the Pollexfen sale-catalogue of 1900, and 6 shown at the British Museum in 1963. At least 23 of these coins from the find are now in the British Museum, 19 of them *ex* Evans.

APPENDIX

The First Hand variety with left-facing bust

It will have been noticed that the Ipswich find contained no fewer than three specimens of the variety of *First Hand* with a left-facing bust, the variety distinguished by Hildebrand as B.1. *var. a* and appearing in the Grueber volume of the British Museum's *Anglo-Saxon Catalogue* as Type II. These coins even today are often wrongly described as mules from *First Small Cross* obverses (*cf.* Lockett 3724), and it may be useful to list and illustrate by direct photographs every die-combination known to the present writer. Just how rare is the variety, incidentally, may be gathered from the fact that it is not represented in such major collections as those at Cambridge, Copenhagen, Glasgow, Oslo and Oxford, and it will be seen that between them the British Museum and Stockholm not only account for every known variety but for three out of four of the known specimens.

(1) CANTERBURY, Boi(g)a. [Pl. I, A]	BM ¹ ex 1863 Ipswich Find.
(2) CANTERBURY, Living [Pl. I, B]	SHM (Hild. 230). FEJ (Ryan 813) CEB (Lockett 664). CSSL (Drabble 455)
(3) CHESTER, Ælfstan ³ . [Pl. I C]	BM ex 1841 Mullingar ('Marl Valley') Find ² . SHM (Hild. 1492).
(4) CHESTER, Leomman ³ . [Pl. I, D]	BM ex 1914 Chester Find. SHM (Hild. 1556). GMC ex 1914 Chester Find.
(5) CHESTER, Leomman ³ . [Pl. I, E].	BM ex 1941 Mullingar ('Marl Valley') Find ² .
(6) HEREFORD, Ælfstan. [Pl. I, F].	SHM (Hild. 1325)
(7) LYMNE, Leofwine. [Pl. I, G].	BM ex 1863 Ipswich Find.
(8) SHREWSBURY, Ævic. [Pl. I, H].	BM ex 1914 Chester Find.
(9) SHREWSBURY, Leofvelm. [Pl. I, I].	BM (Lockett 3724 ex Wheeler 54 ex Cuff 563) <i>cf.</i> Ruding Pl. D, 35.

NOTES (1) The following abbreviations are used:—

BM	=	British Museum.
CEB	=	C. E. Blunt.
CSSL	=	C. S. S. Lyon.
FEJ	=	F. Elmore Jones.
GMC	=	Grosvenor Museum, Chester.
SHM	=	Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm.

(2) The BM coins *ex* Mullingar Find are *via* B. Chapman sale (Sotheby, 8 : xi : 1894), lot 22.

(3) Coins 3 and 4 are from the same obverse die, and coins 4 and 5 from the same reverse die.

It should be apparent at once that the obverses are quite different from those of the *First Small Cross* issue—in particular we may note the omission of the aigrette of three pellets before the face¹—and also that there are two distinct stylistic groupings. One comprises the

¹ To bring out this point we illustrate the still unique *First Small Cross* / *First Hand* mule in the British Museum (Pl. I, J) *ex* Montagu 772 *ex* Brice *ex* Cuff 563 *cf.* Ruding Pl. D, 36.

coins of Canterbury and Lymne, and here the bust is quite round while the ethnic is contracted ANGLORX. The other grouping embraces the coins of Chester, Shrewsbury and Hereford. Here the bust is noticeably narrower, and the ethnic is contracted ANGL or ANGLO. Few would wish to dispute that two different regional workshops must have been concerned with the production of the dies, and so the numismatist is afforded welcome new evidence that there was a regional pattern of die-production in the *First Hand* issue. Unfortunately there is as yet no significant hoard-provenance for any coin of the Kentish grouping, but the evidence of the 1914 hoard from Chester (*Inventory* 85) is decisive that the coins of the Mercian grouping were struck not more than a few months after the introduction of the *First Hand* type, and there would seem no reason to suppose that the Kentish pieces were not contemporary. In other words, the rigid centralization achieved by Eadgar at the end of his reign had been abandoned within a very few years, so that one wonders why it should have been resurrected—and with complete success—by the time that the *Second Hand* coinage was put in issue approximately a decade after Eadgar's death.



A



B



C



D



E



F



G



H



I



J



THE REPERCUSSIONS ON CHESTER'S PROSPERITY OF THE VIKING DESCENT ON CHESHIRE IN 980

By R. H. M. DOLLEY and MISS E. J. E. PIRIE

It is well known that under Æthelstan the Chester mint was one of the most important centres of coin-production in the whole of England. Coins of that reign by no fewer than twenty-seven moneyers have been recorded,¹ and this predominance² cannot altogether be explained by the circumstances that most—though not all—of the finds of English coins concealed in the second quarter of the tenth century come from places to the north and west of Chester, *i.e.* from the Scottish Isles and from Ireland.³ Under Eadgar, too, the Chester mint clearly remained one of the more significant in England. Again the majority of the coin-hoards have a north-western distribution,⁴ but even so the fact remains that *BMC* type II of Eadgar was struck by a score of moneyers, and this although the type would appear to have been struck for not more than a very few years,⁵ and may even have been a limited issue intended to meet the special needs of one given area.⁶ Under Edward the Martyr, on the other hand, the number of Chester moneyers of whom coins have survived is precisely three, but the numismatist is not inclined to attach very much significance to this paucity inasmuch as virtually all coins of this reign are so notably rare. It is a different story, however, when we come to the *First* and *Second Hand* types and to the *Benediction Hand* variety of Æthelræd II. While we would not pretend that we know anything like all that there is to be known about these issues which span a period of some twelve years, it is indisputable that the great Scandinavian coin-hoards give a reasonably adequate picture of the overall pattern of coin-production of England in the early part of a reign which saw the removal of coin from the country on altogether unparalleled a scale. The following figures have been drawn up on the

¹ Cf. *SCBI* Chester I, p. 34.

² In *English Coins*, London, 1932, Dr. G. C. Brooke recorded the names of twenty-five Æthelstan moneyers of Chester. His totals for London and Winchester are fourteen and seven respectively.

³ The following is a summary and provisional listing of those finds from Great Britain and Ireland which may be supposed to have been deposited between c. 925 and c. 950:—

S. and E. of Chester

- Bossal (*Inv.* 162)
- Cockburnspath (*Inv.* —)
- London (*Inv.* —)
- Morley St. Peter (*Inv.* —)
- Oxford (*Inv.* 300)
- Tywardreath (*Inv.* —)

N. and W. of Chester

- Bangor (*Inv.* 32)
- Scotby (*Inv.* 324)
- Glasnevin (*Inv.* 89)
- Glendalough (*Inv.* —)
- Co. Cork (*Inv.* —)

- Co. Dublin (*Inv.* 133)
- Co. Kildare (*Inv.* 205)
- Co. Tipperary (*Inv.* 356)
- Skaill (*Inv.* 322)
- Skye (*Inv.* 312)

It should further be remarked that the total of Æthelstan coins from hoards recorded in the upper column is far smaller than for the northern and western finds. Possibly, though, a more reliable index of relative production is afforded by the 1883 Forum hoard from Rome where Mr. C. E. Blunt's photographs reveal a total of 25 mint-signed coins of Æthelstan from the Chester mint as against 66 from London.

⁴ Cf. the map on p. 143 of *A/S Coins*, London, 1961.

⁵ It is absent, for example, from the 1950 Chester hoard (*Inv.* 86) which is usually dated c. 970 (but see *infra*, p. 000, n. 00). The Smarmore hoard (*Inv.* 333), however, seems conclusive evidence that the type in fact belongs very late in the reign.

⁶ *JRSAL*, 1961, pp. 17 and 18.

basis just of those coins which happened to be recorded by B. E. Hildebrand in the 1881 edition of his *Anglosachsiska Mynt*:—

	<i>Moneyers recorded</i>		
	<i>First Hand</i>	<i>Second Hand</i>	<i>Benediction Hand</i>
London	28	33	8
York	12	— ¹	—
Winchester	11	9	4
Lincoln	7	—	—
Canterbury	5	7	4
Chester	4	3	2

It will be seen at once that the Chester figures are quite astonishingly low for a mint which but a few years previously could boast a score of moneyers, and even this is not the whole story. One has only to glance at the pages of Hildebrand to appreciate that many of the London moneyers were using as many as three, four or even five obverse and reverse dies in a single type. Consequently the number of different varieties of *Hand* coins of London in the Stockholm Systematic Collection alone amounts to more than one hundred and fifty.

One may contrast this incomplete figure with the meagre total for Chester which we have been able to arrive at on the basis of all the *Hand* coins of the mint we have been able to trace in the public collections of England, Scotland, Ireland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland. To this end we begin with a miniature *corpus* of the coins struck at the Chester mint during the first twelve years or so of the reign of Æthelræd II.

ABBREVIATIONS

BM	British Museum, London
GM	Grosvenor Museum, Chester
K	Royal Coin Cabinet, Copenhagen
L	City Museum and Art Gallery, Leicester.
O	University Coin Cabinet, Oslo
S	Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm
UM	Ulster Museum, Belfast.

FIRST HAND TYPE

(Michaelmas 979–Michaelmas 985?)

A. *Variety with left-facing bust* (Hild. B.1a = BMC ii)²

Moneyer Ælfstan

(1) *Obv.* + ÆDELREDREXANGL (NG lig). *Rev.* + ÆLFSTAN M^o O LEGE

(a) S, Hild. 1492. [Pl. VIII, 1].

(b) BM, *ex* Sir Benjamin Chapman sale (Sotheby, 8 : xi : 1894) lot 22; *ex* 1841 Mullingar ('Marl Valley') Find³. [Pl. VIII, 2].

Moneyer Leomman (Leofman)

(2) *Obv.* FROM SAME DIE AS (1). *Rev.* + LEOMMAN M^o O LEGE

(a) BM, *ex* Sir Benjamin Chapman sale (Sotheby, 8 : xi : 1894) lot 22; *ex* 1841 Mullingar ('Marl Valley') Find. [Pl. VIII, 3].

¹ Hild. Æthelræd 697 is not of York, *cf.* A/S *Coins*, p. 173.

² These coins are still frequently described as mules which they are not. They are discussed in a paper on a parcel of coins from the Ipswich hoard (*Inv.* 199) which adds Lymne to the mints known for the variety, and further distinguishes quite separate N. W. and S. E. groupings.

³ The so-called 'Marl Valley' hoard (*Inv.* 265) deserves early republication if only for the rarities it contains. It may be noted that the Chapmans of Killua Castle were local magnates, while the name 'Marl Valley' should perhaps be dropped inasmuch as colleagues in the Ordnance Survey of Ireland have been unable to find the place-name on any map of the area.

- (3) *Obv.* + ÆDELRED REX ANGL. (NG lig.) *Rev.* FROM SAME DIE AS (2)
 (a) S, Hild. 1556 [Pl. VIII, 4]
 (b) BM, pres. E. Davies 1920; *ex* 1914 Chester find, published *NC*, 1920, p. 162,¹ no. 111. [Pl. VIII, 5].
 (c) 5] GM, pres. E. Davies 1955; *ex* 1914 Chester find, but omitted from *NC*, 1920; published *SCBI* Chester I, 109. [Pl. VIII, 6].

B. *Substantive type with right-facing bust* (Hild. B.I. = BMC iia).

Style 'A'—apparently 'early' and localized in N.W. England².

Moneyer Ælfstan

- (4) *Obv.* + ÆDELRED REXANEO (NE lig.) *Rev.* + ÆLFSTAN M^o LEGE (N reverse barred).
 (a) S, Hild. 1491. [Pl. VIII, 7].
 (b) BM, pres. E. Davies 1920; *ex* 1914 Chester find, published *NC*, 1920, p. 163, no. 114. [Pl. VIII, 8].
 (c) GM, pres. E. Davies 1955; *ex* 1914 Chester Find, published *NC*, 1920, p. 163, no. 115, and *SCBI* Chester I, 110, [Pl. VIII, 9].

Moneyer Leofmon (Leofman)

- (5) *Obv.* FROM SAME DIE AS (4). *Rev.* + LEOFMON M^o LEGEC
 (a) S, Hild. 1533. [Pl. VIII, 10].
 (b) K, *ex* Hess (Frankfurt) sale, 19 : x : 1891, lot 670; *ex* 1891 Lodejnoje Pole (Russia) Find³. [Pl. VIII, 11].

Mule between Styles 'A' and 'B'⁴.

Moneyer Elemod (Æthelmod?).

- (6) *Obv.* [—] XANGLOR (NG lig.) *Rev.* + ELEMED [—]
 (a) GM, pres. T. C. Hughes 1925; *ex* T. Hughes⁵; published *SCBI* Chester I, 112. [Pl. VIII, 12].

Style 'B'—apparently 'late' and also found in N.E. England⁶.

Moneyer Eadric.

- (7) *Obv.* FROM SAME DIE AS (6). *Rev.* + EADRIC M^o LEGC
 (a) K, *ex* 1864 Munkegaard Find (Denmark)⁷. [Pl. VIII, 13].
 (8) *Obv.* + ÆDELRED REX ANGLORX (NG lig.; ORX lig.). *Rev.* FROM SAME DIE AS (7)
 (a) S, Hild. 1506. [Pl. VIII, 14].
 (b) BM, purchased 1915; *ex* J. Pierpont Morgan and Sir John Evans collections, apparently from a Swedish find⁸. [Pl. VIII, 15].
 (c) GM, purchased 1952; *ex* Willoughby Gardner; *ex* W. L. Gantz; *ex* P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton sale (Sotheby, 17–21 : xi : 1913) lot 479; apparently *ex* H. O. O'Hagan sale (Sotheby, 16–20 : xii : 1907) as part of lot 362, *ex* Sir Benjamin Chapman sale (Sotheby, 8 : xi : 1894) lot 13 and 1841 Mullingar ('Marl Valley') Find; published *SCBI* Chester I, 111. [Pl. VIII, 16].
 (d) L, no provenance. [Pl. VIII, 17].

¹ *Inv.* 85—a few coins in the Grosvenor Museum from the E. Davies gift are certainly from the hoard but do not figure in Sir George Hill's excellent account.

² A forthcoming study of *First Hand* issue will suggest that dies were cut at a number of regional centres. No other mint, however, employs dies of this distinctive style which may well emanate from Chester itself.

³ Information kindly supplied by Dr. Georg Galster.

⁴ The obverse clearly belongs to style 'B' but the reverse to style 'A'—note particularly the elliptical treatment of the drapery at the cuff.

⁵ It is tempting to equate this fragment with a missing coin from the 1848 Kaldal hoard from Norway (*NNA*^o, 1955, p. 96, no. 15)—reference

kindly supplied by Konservator Kolbjorn Skaare—and the 19th century attitude to fragments was such that we can well imagine a broken coin thought to be a duplicate of Hild. 1511 (in 1st edn., 788) being sent to an interested English collector.

⁶ As well as at Chester this style of obverse is found at Leicester, Lincoln, Northampton, Nottingham, Shrewsbury, Stamford, Worcester and York.

⁷ Cf. *Berliner Blätter für Münzkunde*, 1886, pp. 31–40—again we owe the reference to the kindness of Dr. Galster.

⁸ The coin is 'pecked', cf. *BNJ*, XXVIII, i (1955), pp. 185–189, and Evans is known to have bought extensively of 'doubletters' from the Swedish hoards—cf. his 1886 gifts to the British Museum (*BNJ. vol. cit.*, pp. 52–54).

Moneyer Elemod (Æthelmod?).

(9) *Obv.* + ÆDELRED REXANGLO (NG lig.) *Rev.* + ELEMOM M^o LEGCE:

(a) S, Hild. 1511. [Pl. VIII, 18].

SECOND HAND TYPE

(Michaelmas 985 – Michaelmas 991?)

A. Regular dies (Hild. B.2 = *BMC* iid).

Moneyer Eadric.

(10) *Obv.* + ÆDELRÆD REX ANGLORX (NG lig.; ORX lig.) *Rev.* + EADRIC M^o LEGCE

(a) UM, pres. Canon Grainger 1891; conceivably a 'stray' from the 1841 Mullingar ('Marl Valley') Find¹. [Pl. VIII, 19].

Moneyer Elemod (Æthelmod?)

(11) *Obv.* FROM SAME DIE AS (10). *Rev.* + ELEMOM M^o LEGCE

(a) S, Hild. 1512. [Pl. VIII, 20].

B. Markedly irregular dies.

Moneyer Ælfstan.

(12) *Obv.* + ÆDELRÆDRE + ANGLOX. *Rev.* + ÆLFSTAN M^o LEGC:E

(a) S, Hild. 1493. [Pl. VIII, 21].

(b) 0, ex 1836 Arstad Find (Norway)². [Pl. VIII, 22].

BENEDICTION HAND VARIETY

(Summer 991?)

(Hild. B.3 = *BMC* iif)

Moneyer Ælfstan.

(13) *Obv.* + ÆDELRÆD REX ANGLOX (NG lig.) *Rev.* + ÆLFSTAN M^o LEG

(a) S, Hild. 1494. [Pl. VIII, 23].

Moneyer Wullaf.

(14) *Obv.* + ÆDELRÆD REX ANGLOX (NG lig.) *Rev.* + PVLLAF M^o LEGE

(a) S, Hild. 1573. [Pl. VIII, 24].

(b) GM, purchased 1952; ex Willoughby Gardner; ex Spink and Son; ex P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton sale (Sotheby, 17–21 : xi : 1913) lot 494; apparently from a Scandanavian (Swedish?) hoard³; published *SCBI* Chester I, 113. [Pl. VIII, 25].

N.B. Omitted from the above *corpus* is a fragmentary *Second Hand* coin in Oslo [Pl. VIII, 26]. The moneyer's name is entirely wanting, and the only letters that remain from the reverse legend are those of the copulative and the first two letters of the mint-signature, —M^oLE—. This could be for LEGCEstre, but we must not forget that in the *Second Hand* type the normal Leicester mint-signature appears also to begin LE—, for LEHERcestre (cf. Hild. 1585 and 1588). Nor can one be absolutely confident that the second letter of the mint-signature on the Oslo coin is not intended to be 'Æ', in which case the name of Lewes would be indicated. Unfortunately we have not been able to find the die-link which would clinch the matter. If it is absent in the case of the Leicester coins recorded in Hildebrand⁴ and of the Lewes coins listed by Mr. King⁵, it is no less wanting in respect of the undoubted Chester coins of Eadric and Elemod.

A word may be appropriate at this juncture on the ordering of the types which we have adopted, and especially as regards our breakdown of *First Hand* into three groups which we believe to mirror to some extent a valid chronological sequence. Critical here is the Pemberton's

¹ The bulk of the hoard undoubtedly passed to Chapman, but a small parcel is in the National Museum at Dublin, and we may suspect the same 1841 Mullingar provenance for the odd coin of *Hand* type in the Shearman collection now at Clongowes Wood College.

² Information once more kindly supplied by Mr.

Skaare.

³ Again the coin is 'pecked', cf. p. 000, no. 00 *supra*.

⁴ We are grateful to Fil. lic. fru Ulla Westermarck for confirmation of this.

⁵ Cf. *BNJ*, XXVIII, iii (1957) p. 519, nos. 21 and 22.

Parlour hoard from Chester which came to light in 1914¹. Clearly this find was deposited early in the currency of *First Hand*, if only because *Small Cross* outnumbered *First Hand* coins by rather more than ten to one.² The hoard contained four *First Hand* coins of Chester of only two of the three groups. In the Mullingar ('Marl Valley') hoard of 1841 from Ireland, on the other hand, there were present three *First Hand* coins of Chester, one of which belongs to the group which is not represented in the 1914 Chester find, and significantly the Irish hoard in question was deposited a whole quinquennium at least later, for it included a substantial proportion of *Second Hand* coins, though none of them was certainly of Chester³. It may be remarked, too, that the Chester coins which occur in the Scandinavian hoards belong predominantly to the *Second Hand* type and to the *Benediction Hand* variety, and this is what one might expect since Viking raids on England during the period in question were becoming progressively more intense, so that it is perhaps significant that of the *First Hand* issue no fewer than three of the surviving coins belong to the *prima facie* 'late' group which is absent from the 1914 Chester find.

From the above miniature *corpus* it emerges that we have from the public collections of Europe no more than twenty-five coins of the Chester mint struck between c. 979 and c. 991. Significantly these twenty-five coins are from no more than ten obverse and eleven reverse dies used in fourteen different combinations. That, too, there is no more than the odd *Hand* coin of Chester lurking in some private cabinet would seem to be guaranteed by the circumstance that for some seventy years the late Dr. Willoughby Gardner was keeping an eagle eye upon the sale-rooms of Europe in the hope of being able to acquire Chester coins for his unrivalled cabinet. Of *Hand* coins of Æthelræd II he was able to acquire precisely two! Yet if we turn to the Chester volume of the *Sylloge* we will find in the Grosvenor Museum alone a total of thirty coins indisputably of the Chester mint struck between c. 970 and c. 979, all but two of them from Dr. Gardner's cabinet, and one would not have to visit anything like all the public collections of Great Britain to bring this total to a round hundred.

In this connection it is instructive to cite the number of Chester moneyers who are known for the different substantive types of Æthelræd II and Cnut, each of which we may suppose to have been struck and current for a period of some six years.⁴ The figures in brackets indicate the total number of specimens of coins of the type in the Grosvenor Museum at Chester.

First Hand	4	(4)
Second Hand ⁵	4	(1)
Crux	6	(6)
Long Cross	9	(26)
Helmet	8	(7)
Last Small Cross	12	(25)
Quatrefoil	28	(62)
Pointed Helmet	16	(18)
Short Cross	10	(9)

Clearly the fortunes of the Chester mint in the early years of Æthelræd II were at their lowest ebb, and the numismatist who has the least interest in the history of England cannot fail to wonder whether or not there is some political event which could explain this dramatic slump from a 'production peak' in the last years of the reign of Eadgar.

¹ *Supra*, p. 00, no. 00.

² The proportion is not affected by the odd 'stray' now in the Grosvenor Museum *ex* E. Davies.

³ Since, however, the Belfast coin of Eadric, *supra*, p. 00, is 'unpecked' we strongly incline to the supposition that it derives ultimately from the

1841 Mullingar find.

⁴ Present thinking, however, is that the *Last Small Cross* type was current if not in issue for as much as eight years, *cf.* *BNJ*, XXX, ii (1961), p. 237.

⁵ Including the *Benediction Hand* variety.

The 1914 coin-hoard from Chester in itself might be thought to suggest some local crisis c. 980, and already it has been argued that there is a connection between its concealment and a Viking attack on Wirral in that year recorded in the so-called *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.¹ Nor is it impossible that a similar explanation should be sought for the non-recovery if not the concealment of the 1857 and 1950 coin-hoards from Chester,² the absence from them of coins of Type II of Eadgar³ and of the *First Small Cross* issue being explicable in much the same way as the absence of the *Pyramids* type of the Confessor and of coins of Harold II from the Sedlescombe hoard of 1876.⁴ In the case of the Sussex hoard there is a possibility at least that we are dealing with part of the bullion reserve of the Hastings mint, i.e. an agglomeration of obsolete coin not yet consigned to the crucible and removed on the approach of Duke William's army. In the same way there seems a distinct possibility that the Eastgate and Castle Esplanade coins represent quantities of demonetized coin officially held in reserve or even remaining in private possession a few years after the great reform, rather than money actually current at the time the hoards were concealed. However this may be, we would suggest that the most likely explanation of the apparent eclipse of the Chester mint in the early years of Æthelræd II is the devastation caused by a Viking (Hiberno-Norse?) descent upon Cheshire recorded s.a. 980 in the C manuscript of the *Chronicle* in the following terms:—

‘and the same year Cheshire was ravaged by a northern naval force.’⁵

It is nowhere explicitly stated that the city of Chester was sacked, and it might even be thought that the mention of the shire is suggestive that the defences of Chester itself were not overrun. However, the dramatic decrease in the mint-output of Chester may perhaps be thought an argument that the actual city succumbed, and the numismatist would further observe that of the four *First Hand* moneyers only Ælfstan is known to have struck coins in the two preceding reigns. Here we feel that there could be another pointer to the essential accuracy of our claim that the devastation of the Viking attack of 980 is reflected in the coinage of the Chester mint over the whole of the next decade. Indeed, it is not until the very last years of Æthelræd II and the early part of the reign of Cnut that the erstwhile premier mint in England enjoyed anything like its old importance, though even then it had to occupy fifth place behind London, York, Lincoln and Winchester.

It only remains for us to express our obligations to those of our friends and colleagues without whose ready help this note could never have been written. They include Miss M. M. Archibald of the British Museum, Mr. C. E. Blunt of Ramsbury, Dr. N. L. Rasmusson, Mr. L. O. Lagerqvist and Mrs. U. Westermarck of the Royal Coin Cabinet at Stockholm, Dr. G. Galster of the Royal Coin Cabinet at Copenhagen, Mr. K. Skaare of the University Coin Cabinet at Oslo, Mr. W. A. Seaby of the Ulster Museum at Belfast, Mr. J. Norwood of the City Museum and Art Gallery, Leicester, and Mr. F. H. Thompson formerly of the Grosvenor Museum at Chester and now of Manchester University. To the authorities of the different cabinets we are also grateful for photographs and for permission to reproduce them. Nor should we neglect to thank numerous colleagues in other institutions and private collectors who confirmed that Chester coins of the types in question were absent from their respective cabinets.

¹ *A/S Coins*, p. 153.

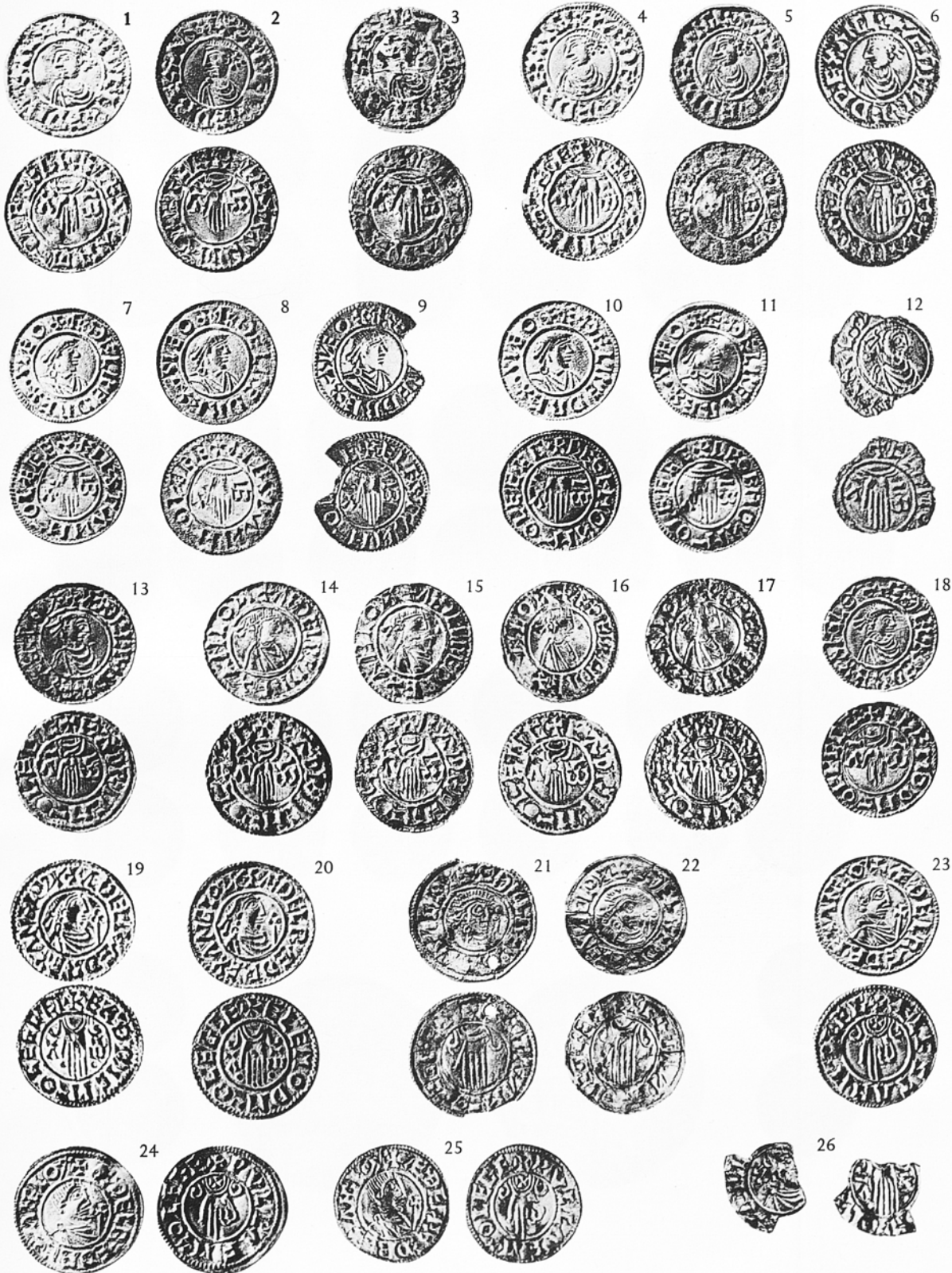
² *Inv.* 84 and 86 respectively.

³ In the *Inventory* the suggestion is made that some of the Eadgar coins in the Eastgate hoard were of *BMC* type II but this is negated by an account surprisingly omitted from the bibliography, Turner's 1941 recension of Newstead's manuscript

listing the find (*BNJ*, XXIV, i (1941), pp. 47–49).

⁴ *Inv.* 327, cf. *A/S Coins*, p. 158.

⁵ D. Whitelock with D. C. Douglas and S. I. Tucker, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, London, 1961, p. 80, cf. C. Plummer, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, Oxford, 1892, p. 124.



SOME MIS-ATTRIBUTED *FLEUR-DE-LIS* COINS OF HAROLD I

By R. H. M. DOLLEY

IN the early summer of 1963 Mr. C. S. S. Lyon and I were engaged on a full-scale investigation of the so-called *Jewel Cross* coinage in the names of Harold and of Harthacnut, and at one point in our researches it became desirable for me to draw up a reasonably complete and accurate roster of the mints and moneyers striking for Harold in the immediately ensuing *Fleur-de-lis* issue. In the course of preparing this list I happened on a number of corrections to Hildebrand which seem not to have been made before, and in this paper they will be set out seriatim so that readers of the *Journal* may judge for themselves whether they have been arrived at on grounds that are reasoned or are perhaps no more than capricious. It is only fair to say, too, that in a number of them I would seem to have been anticipated by the late Dr. G. C. Brooke, that is if we accept the negative evidence of the omission of certain names from the lists of moneyers on pp. 69–78 of *English Coins*, but the non-survival of the notes he made in the course of his visit to Scandinavia in 1933, after the appearance of the book in question, means that there is now no way of knowing to what extent his probably intuitive corrections were justified by solid evidence. To facilitate the marking up of copies of *Anglo-sachsiska mynt*, the coins discussed are given in the order of their Hildebrand numbers.

Hild. 74. (cf. *Pl. IX*, 1 & 2)

Hildebrand transcribed the reverse legend +ÆLFERE ON COL, but Ælfhere is not otherwise known as a Colchester moneyer at this period, and significantly Brooke omits his name. In his 1941 *British Numismatic Journal* paper, however, Turner included the coin as no. 98 of his 'corpus' of the pennies of the Colchester mint, and hence the need that it should be once and for all dissociated from an Essex context. As the plate should show, Hild. 74 is a misread coin of York where Ælfhere is a well-attested moneyer in the period and type, and in fact it has proved to be from the same dies as Hild. 147, a coin the York attribution of which has never been doubted.

Hild. 86 (cf. *Pl. IX*, 3 & 4)

Hildebrand's transcription of the reverse legend is +ÆLFINE ON DEO, but the Derby attribution is not perpetuated in Brooke. Ælfwine was not a Derby moneyer at this period, but is known for Thetford. A check has established that the coin under discussion is from the same obverse die as Hild. 937, a coin which incontestably is of the Thetford mint.

Hild. 180 (cf. *Pl. IX*, 5 & 6)

The reverse legend was read by Hildebrand as +GODMAN ON EO, and Godman duly appears as a York moneyer of Harold I on p. 78 of Brooke's *English Coins*. It is true that a Godman had struck at York throughout the preceding reign, but a check has revealed that the Harold coin is from the same reverse die as Hild. 293 which Hildebrand very properly assigned to Hertford. A coin such as Hild. 294 with mint-signature HEOR leaves no room for doubt that Godman was a Hertford moneyer under Harold, and it is to Hertford that Hild. 180 should now be assigned.

Hild. 266 (*cf. Pl. IX, 7 & 8*)

Hildebrand's reading of the reverse legend +PULPINE ON GRA was doubtless influenced by the circumstances that Wulfwine is a well-attested Cambridge moneyer in this very type. The coin, however, proves to be mis-struck, and Wulfwine is no less prolific a moneyer of the type at Bristol. A routine check is sufficient to establish that Hild. 266 and Hild. 36 are from the same dies, while from the plate it should be clear that the mint-signature is to be read BRIC (for Bristol) and not GRA (for Cambridge).

Hild. 306. (*Pl. IX, 9 & A*)

Hildebrand read the reverse legend +SAEDEMAM ON HER, and gave the coin to Hereford. Brooke, clearly unhappy, took the easy course and omitted 'Sædeman' from the canon of Hereford moneyers without suggesting an alternative attribution. Examination of the actual coin has supplied the answer to the puzzle. The name of the moneyer should be read SIIDEMAM for Sideman, and Sideman is a moneyer peculiarly associated at this period with the mint of Wareham. It is hoped that the enlargements will make it clear that the coin under discussion is in fact of Wareham, the mint-signature reading not HER but PER. The correction is one that is not without interest for the Dorset specialist inasmuch as one consequence is that now for the first time Wareham appears as a mint of Harold I.

Hild. 336 (*Pl. IX, 10 & 11*)

Hildebrand's transcription of the reverse legend is +CYLDEFINE O LE, but it is not surprising that Gyldewine should fail to be cited by Brooke as one of the moneyers of the Chester mint. At Canterbury Gyldewine is a prolific moneyer at this very period, and an examination of the coin establishes that the mint-signature is not LE (for Chester) but CE (for Canterbury). Suspicion becomes certainty when it is discovered that the penny in question is in fact a die-duplicate of Hild. 46.

Hild. 983 (*cf. Pl. IX, 12-14*)

The reverse legend is transcribed by Hildebrand as +SPERTINC ON PE, and the coin given to Wallingford. Swertinc, however, is not otherwise known for the Berkshire mint, and Brooke's omission of the name from the canon of Wallingford moneyers seems justified on purely circumstantial grounds. Swertinc, however, is a singularly well-attested moneyer at Derby, and a check establishes that the coin under discussion is a die-duplicate of Hild. 95—and from the same obverse die as Hild. 959 the attribution of which to Thetford, passed over by Brooke and revived by Carson in the 1949 *Numismatic Chronicle* (p. 221), was again rejected by Miss G. van der Meer in *Anglo-Saxon Coins* (p. 181).

Hild. 1025/6/7 (*cf. Pl. IX, 15-17 & 20 & 21*)

The three coins with mint-signatures recorded by Hildebrand as PINE, PII and PIN are all by the moneyer Le(o)fstan and are from two obverse and three reverse dies. Brooke accepted Leofstan as a Winchester moneyer of Harold I, and we may presume him to have been influenced by the circumstance that a Leofstan had struck at Winchester for Cnut while a moneyer of the same name is assigned to the mint early in the reign of Edward the Confessor (*cf. BMC Edw. Conf. 1369*). If, however, we look more closely into the problem, we find that there is only one *late* penny of Cnut attributable to Winchester (Hild. 3785), and here the mint-signature is recorded as PIN. Leofstan, however, is a Worcester moneyer at precisely this period, and a check establishes that Hild. Cnut 3785 is from the same obverse die as Hild. Cnut 3636 where the mint-signature appears as PIHR, a form which can only denote

Worcester. In the same way it must be observed that *BMC* Edw. Conf. 1369 has the quite ambiguous mint-signature *PI*. From this it is clear that the Harold coins with mint-signatures recorded as *PINE*, *PII* and *PIN* form a little group on their own. They are unconnected with any coin which is undoubtedly of Winchester, and an examination establishes that the mint-signature of Hild. 1025 is *PIHE*, as impeccable a mint-signature for Worcester as *PINE* is inexact for Winchester, while on Hild. 1027 the mint-signature can as well be read *PIH* (for Worcester) as *PIN* (for Winchester). We are left with Hild. 1026, with ambiguous mint-signature *PII* (or *PH*?), and a check has established that it is from the same dies as Hild. 988 which Hildebrand gave—quite rightly—to Worcester. It may be accepted, then, that Leofstan is not a Winchester moneyer of Harold I, and the three coins can now all be associated with Worcester where Leofstan is found at precisely this period employing such incontrovertible mint-signatures as *PIHRA*, *PIHERC* etc.

Hild. 1031/1032 (*cf. Pl. IX*, 18 & 19)

The two coins are recorded by Hildebrand as having mint-signatures *PINC* and *PIN*. Both are by a moneyer Luf(e)ric, and the entry Leofric under Winchester suggests that Brooke was prepared to admit them to the canon of the moneyers of the West Saxon capital. However, it should be observed that Leofric is not otherwise recorded as a moneyer of Winchester, while it is noteworthy that a moneyer spelling his name Luf(e)ric strikes at Worcester for Cnut and Harthacnut (*cf. Hild. Cnut 3638 & 3639*) and also for Edward the Confessor (*cf. Hild. Edw. Conf. 756*). Without the least hesitation, therefore, Hild. 1031 & 1032 can now be assigned to Worcester, and the name of Leofric deleted from the list of Winchester moneyers of Harold I.

As already remarked, the need for some of the above re-attributions would seem to have been appreciated by Brooke, but even so there are a number that necessitate five emendations to the relevant pages of *English Coins*. For the convenience of the general reader they are here summarized in the order of the mint-entries on pp. 69–78.

P. 77.	WAREHAM, Sideman, <i>Add Hi.</i>
<i>Ibid.</i>	WINCHESTER, <i>Delete Leofric (Hi).</i>
<i>Ibid.</i>	WINCHESTER, Leofstan. <i>Delete Hi.</i>
<i>Ibid.</i>	WORCESTER, Leofric. <i>Add Hi.</i>
P. 78	YORK, Godman. <i>Delete Hi.</i>

It only remains for me to thank the authorities of the Royal Swedish Coin Cabinet for the direct photographs which make up the plate, and for permission to publish here yet another instalment of the preliminary work in connection with the publication of the Viking-age coin-hoards of Sweden.

KEY TO PLATE IX

(1) Hild. 74	(12) Hild. 983
(2) Hild. 147	(13) Hild. 95
(3) Hild. 86	(14) Hild. 959
(4) Hild. 937	(15) Hild. 1025
(5) Hild. 180	(16) Hild. 1026
(6) Hild. 293	(17) Hild. 1027
(7) Hild. 266	(18) Hild. 1031
(8) Hild. 36	(19) Hild. 1032
(9) Hild. 306 (see also A)	(20) Hild. Cnut 3785
(10) Hild. 336	(21) Hild. Cnut 3636
(11) Hild. 46	(A) Hild. 306 (see also 9).



AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MANX FIND OF EARLY SCOTTISH STERLINGS

By IAN STEWART

THOMAS SNELLING'S *View of the Coins Struck in the Isle of Man*¹ contains evidence of an important hoard of twelfth-century Scottish coins. His block of Manx coins includes five pieces from a recent find on the island, which, as will be seen from the reproduction below (fig. 1), are of types now well known as belonging to Stephen of England (no. 1), and to William the Lion (no. 2), Malcolm IV (no. 3) and David I (nos. 4 and 5) of Scotland.

In the eighteenth century, coins of David I had not been identified, and a decade was yet to elapse before the Dyke hoard of 1780² demonstrated that the crescent-and-pellet issue belonged to William I of Scotland. Snelling thus concluded that these coins of generally unfamiliar type had been struck by the Norwegian kings of Man in the twelfth century.

Under some of these princes we apprehend were struck the five first pieces in the small plate annexed, but to which to ascribe them is uncertain, as we cannot make out any name upon them, and the greatest presumption we have of their belonging to these Kings, is, that they were found in that Island. The time when published we think was included between the years 1100 and 1200, and most probably by Olave, or Godred his son; we have heard of many other ancient pieces which were lately found there, and said to be Danish, but not having seen any, can determine nothing concerning them.

The head of No. 1 is much in the taste of No. 25. pl. I. of our silver coin of Stephen³, the reverse exactly the same; the only letters on it are MITA; there is something in the head of No. 2 which resembles the work of that time, but the reverse quite singular, as is also the reverse of No. 3., the head of which is worn away, having round it only MML. We have two other pieces with the same reverse, one of which has a profile head, apparently with a helmet; the reverse likewise of No. 4 is like the last, but the head exactly as no. 29. of Stephen as is also the next, No. 5. only looks the contrary way, and its reverse much like no. 19, 20. of Henry the First⁴. This last is in the collection of the Earl of Bute, all the rest are our own.



FIG. 1.

Part of Snelling's block of
"Manx" coins.

¹ London, 1769; incorporated in a volume of collected *Miscellaneous Views*; see pp. 40-1.

² A. de Cardonnel, *Numismata Scotiae*, Edinburgh,

1786, pp. 3-4 & 39-43, and pl. I.

³ Stephen, *BMC* type I.

⁴ Henry I, *BMC* types VIII and XII.

There are a number of reasons for thinking that the engravings of these coins on the block are highly inaccurate, no. 1 having an inexplicable inscription, no. 3 a portrait that is admittedly invented and no. 5, if its identity with an extant coin as proposed below is established, being a mirror image. Nevertheless, the types of the coins are clear.

No. 1¹ is (as Snelling remarks) of a type belonging to Stephen, *BMC* VII. How the coin could read MITA on the obverse is completely obscure. No feudal issues struck in the name of authorities other than Stephen are known for this type, which was indeed itself a post-war issue by which it was attempted to re-establish a unified royal coinage throughout the realm, c. 1150.² The normal obverse reading is *Stiefne*, which could hardly be misread as MITA on a coin apparently so well preserved as Snelling's. The reading must remain a mystery unless the actual coin can be identified. Mr. Elmore Jones, whose knowledge of the coins of this type is encyclopaedic, has not been able to correlate the illustration with any example known to him. If the coin were to be rediscovered, the irregular shape of the chipped edge in one quarter should assist identification.

No. 2 is a crescent-and-pellet sterling of William the Lion, the obverse apparently reading *Le Rei (Wilame)*, but the reverse indeterminable from the engraving. The sceptre-head, which is an important chronological criterion in this series (early, cross potent; later, pommée), is unfortunately invisible. The engraving does not tally obviously with any specimen I have seen, and indeed on the basis of the worn area of the coin only it would be difficult to sustain a case for identity. The issue was replaced by short voided-cross sterlings in 1195. It almost certainly originated before 1180 when the short cross type was introduced in England, for it has stylistic and physical affinities with the cross-and-crosslets issue of Henry II, 1158 to 1180. William succeeded his brother Malcolm in 1165, but these coins are not his earliest type, and there are grounds for believing that they cannot have been struck much, if at all, before 1174 when William surrendered the castles of Berwick, Edinburgh and Roxburgh to the English.³

No. 3 is a sterling of Malcolm IV, S. type III, of which the characteristic feature is the attachment of two of the pellets in the angles of the reverse cross to the inner circle by stalks. Snelling has restored the head, which was 'worn away', as if it faced the left. In discussing this illustration, Burns argued⁴ that, in view of the position of the initial cross, which "as employed on the obverses of coins with the cross fleurie and pellet reverse, is always placed behind the head, except when the inscription is retrograde, in which case it is placed in front . . . the proper position of the head was facing the right'. As Burns further observed, the second letter of the inscription, MMI, 'as shown by the bar across the top, ought rather to be regarded as a broad A' and it is 'very probable that the third letter, regarded by Snelling as an I, was rather an L with the lower part effaced'. The reading MAL combined with OM and OLM on the other specimens of this type known to him, convinced Burns of their attribution to Malcolm IV. Whenever the bust is visible on the few known specimens of this type, it does indeed face right, and Snelling's left-facing reconstruction must be considered entirely imaginative: just

¹ Reproduced by Pinkerton, *Essay on Medals*, 3rd Edn., London, 1808, II, pl. 1, no. 9. No. 5 of Snelling's block is also reproduced, as pl. 1, no. 10. On these two, Pinkerton commented '*Pennies published by Snelling*, in his account of the coins of the Isle of Man, and which are suspected to be Scottish. The types resemble the coins of Stephen of England'. Pinkerton's engravings are not exact copies, though very similar. The same two coins are reproduced in *Encyclopaedia Londinensis*, ed. J. Wilkes, 1810-29, vol. IV (pl. II, 32-3, and see p. 826), and by Dr. Charles Clay in *Proc. Manchester*

Num. Soc., I, 1871, p. 170, and in his *Manx Currency*, 1869, p. 35. Clay had acquired the Stephen coin at Snelling's sale: he says that the engraving is in error in that the sceptre can faintly be seen on the original coin, but he does not question the curious MITA reading. I owe the Wilkes and Clay references to the courtesy of Mr. Dolley and Mr. Blunt respectively.

² F. Elmore Jones, 'Stephen Type VII', *BNJ* XXVIII (1958), pp. 537-554.

³ Ian Stewart, *The Scottish Coinage*, London, 1955, pp. 9-11.

⁴ *Coinage of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1887, I, p. 46.

possibly it results from having engraved a right-facing bust directly on to the plate, without reversing it (see remarks on no. 5 below).

It is difficult to understand how Snelling, if indeed he had 'two other pieces with the same reverse, one of which has a profile head, apparently with a helmet', would not have relied on the other piece he had with a visible portrait. Some doubt, however, must arise as to whether the two unillustrated coins really were of Malcolm IV, S. type III, since Snelling writes 'the reverse likewise of No. 4 is like the last' whereas the plate shows that the reverse of no. 4 is of the ordinary cross fleury and pellets type without stalks. The two other pieces could therefore, if their reverses were without stalks, equally have been of David I, S. group I, II or III, or of Malcolm IV, type IV. This last type does have a left-facing bust, and might have given rise to Snelling's 'profile head, apparently with a helmet'. Burns noticed¹ that the crown on the two left-facing bust (that is, S. type IV) sterlings of Malcolm known to him was, like that on the enigmatic crescent-and-pellet sterling reading *Dnertivco* on the obverse,² 'very neatly formed, but with the arch above of the sharply-defined cocked-hat shape of the crown on the earlier William the Lion coinages' and '... further displays the peculiarity of having a large pellet in the centre of the arch'. This seems to me to suggest the most likely explanation of Snelling's left-facing bust on no. 3 and of his 'helmet'. One of the unillustrated pieces may therefore possibly have been of Malcolm IV, type IV.

No. 4, an ordinary cross-fleury-and-pellets coin with right-facing profile, struck Snelling as having 'the head exactly as no. 29 of Stephen'. Of the three groups of David's sterlings with this type, group II has generally rather poorly engraved portraits, and its obverse inscriptions normally begin AVIT . . . or with a blundered version of the same. The figured coin has a punched upright after the initial cross, suggesting D of *Davit*, appropriate to group I, which is also indicated by the Stephen-like portrait. Group III has punch-made dies, and better portraits than group II, so the order of probability for Snelling's no. 4 is I, III, II.³

No. 5 is the most interesting coin of all. Snelling observed the affinity of its reverse type with two of Henry I, but at that time it was not known that David I struck sterlings with the reverse type of a pellet-in-annulet, or crescent-and-pellet, in each angle of a plain cross. Such sterlings are very rare, and when I first saw Pinkerton's version of Snelling's engraving it immediately called to mind an unpublished example with many comparable features, of which the most peculiar is the triple-colon on the obverse. This coin is now in my collection, having been acquired privately from the late Mr. Raymond Carlyon-Britton in September, 1956. His last collection was not begun until after 1947, when he had sold his coins because of ill-health; and he told me that the coin had been acquired by him in London. At the same time I obtained from him another important early Scottish sterling that he had, similarly, acquired recently in London. The second (fig. 3), of Malcolm IV with the pellets-on-stalks reverse (type III), I subsequently discovered to have been lot 210 at the sale of the second part of the Marquess of Bute's numismatic collection in 1951.⁴ The previous lot, 209, contained six sterlings of David I, all described as of reverse type 'cross moline, with pellet in each angle within a circle', and called 'type 1' without reference to whose classification. The 'cross moline' presumably means 'cross fleury', and the 'circle', the inner circle; but it seems not impossible that the coin illustrated here as fig. 2b could have been contained in the lot and covered by the curious description quoted.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

² Burns, fig. 28B; Stewart, pl. I, 15.

³ Unfortunately the engraving does not reveal whether the reverse inscription was punched and coherent (gp. I) or incoherent (gp. III), or engraved

(gp. II). The only point in favour of group II is the reverse cross, the fleured ends of which are rather broad and widely splayed.

⁴ Sotheby, 11th June, 1951. Lot 210 is illustrated on pl. VIII of the sale catalogue.

The theory is largely a guess, but the circumstantial evidence in its favour is strong. Carlyon-Britton led me to understand that the Malcolm IV coin and the piece in question came to him under similar circumstances. Further, if, as I believe is certain, this coin is the model for no. 5 of Snelling's engraved block, it was in the Bute collection in 1769 and should still have been on its dispersal in 1951 (see Appendix).

How the coin came to be engraved in reverse cannot be explained, although the cause may somehow have lain in the fact that this coin belonged to Lord Bute, whereas the other four were in Snelling's own possession. Fig. 2, which compares no. 5 of Snelling's block in reverse with the Carlyon-Britton coin, shows how close a general similarity exists between the two. The obverse is worn at the edge from the back fleur of the crown round to the bottom of the sceptre; the inscription largely coincides, though R on the coin has become another triple-colon. On the reverse, which is also retrogressively engraved by Snelling, WD corresponds with the only really clear portion on the actual coin. The edge of the coin is less irregular than is implied by the engraving. The peculiarities of type and inscription, coupled with areas of wear (which must be particular to individual coins), convince me that Snelling's engraving represents the coin which has now been rediscovered. Since the Bute collection was virtually inaccessible during the nineteenth century, it is not surprising that this remarkable sterling remained unknown to Scottish numismatists. Burns noticed Snelling's engraving, but only in view of its type being comparable to other coins which he attributed to David I¹. From the illustration, nothing could be made of the inscriptions.



FIG. 2a.

FIG. 2b.

FIG. 3.

¹ I, p. 28.

From the coin itself, however, it emerges that the inscriptions on both sides are coherently engraved and meaningful. On the obverse, starting at 4 o'clock and reading outwards can clearly be seen +RE: XDA(V ? . .). The reverse reads forwards, with several letters inverted or retrograde, +(W ? — ?) D (or B) I : R : REW. The two colons may have been triple colons as on the obverse, with one stop off the edge of the coin. The interpretation cannot be at all certain, but the most likely reading in my view is a moneyer's name, perhaps Wilam or Walter (two slightly diverging downward strokes, perhaps the lower part of an M or R, are visible before what I read as the B of the mint-name), with the Berwick mint signature—*Birrew(ici)*.

All David sterlings with English type reverses are very rare, but those with the pellet-in-annulet or pellet-in-crescent types particularly so. The former have more firmly engraved reverse inscriptions, and Ricard at Carlisle is identifiable as a moneyer.¹ The latter have less easily legible reverses,² and the Bute coin is the first of its type to produce anything like a satisfactory mint signature. If it is indeed of Berwick, it could be the earliest surviving coin from that mint, for there are signs that the earliest coinage of David I was that with English types, feudal issues struck in the first instance by David and his son Henry at mints in England, in the manner of other nobles who controlled mints during the civil war. Later, a true Scottish coinage, with its distinctive reverse type, was introduced at Berwick, Carlisle and Roxburgh, the last two of which had probably struck coins with English reverses.³ It would be satisfactory if Berwick also was represented for these early issues; but the reading must be considered possible rather than certain.

It has been stated above that the Bute collection, when sold in 1951, contained another extremely rare coin of this period,⁴ of a type known to have been represented in Snelling's Manx hoard—lot 210 of Malcolm IV (fig. 3). Snelling had two other pieces the reverses of which he compared to his no. 3. One of these had a visible profile portrait and above is suggested to have been possibly of Malcolm IV, type IV, which could have given rise to the left-facing bust imaginatively contributed to the engraving no. 3. The other of the two unillustrated pieces, by the implication of Snelling's wording, perhaps did not have a visible portrait. Just possibly it could be the same coin as Bute lot 210 which has a right-facing profile (but so indistinct as to be virtually invisible to an unpractised eye) with a cocked-hat crown; no trace of the obverse inscription is visible. The reverse reads . . ? R (or D) E : R (V ?), and is the only, albeit highly doubtful, evidence known to me of Berwick striking for Malcolm.

¹ Burns fig. 27. See Stewart, 'An Uncertain Mint of David I', *BNJ* XXIX (1959), pp. 293–6. Some additions and corrections can be made to the list on p. 295. Henry I, type XV, *Erebald*: specimens are in B.M. (2 ex L. A. Lawrence, one ex S. Kyme hoard and one ex Ellman Brown colln.), F. Elmore Jones colln., and Stewart colln. (ex H. A. Parsons, lot 249); *BMC* mentions only P. W. Carlyon-Britton lot 1427. Stephen, type I, *Erebald*: *BMC* 18, reverse begins — h . . ., is of Carlisle style, note x in Rex is disposed as a cross (rev. perhaps *Herebald*?). Stephen, type I, William: *BMC* 19 is not of Carlisle style and I endorse Mr. Dolley's reattribution to Cardiff (*BNJ* XXXI, pp. 76–7); B.M. now has 2 specimens of William (*Willem*) of Carlisle, ex L. A. Lawrence, ex S. Kyme hoard; die-duplicates reading *Willealme* are in Stewart colln. (ex Lockett 1092, ex Bruun 225, ex Roth 118, ex Rashleigh 494, ex Watford find) and Drabble lot 680. See also Drabble lot 727,

of which the reading cannot clearly be read from the illustration in the sale catalogue.

² E.g. Burns, fig. 28A = S. fig. 7, in the B.M.: and *NC*, 6th s. XVIII (1958) pl. I, 36 (Stewart colln., ex Napier sale, lot 217).

³ For Carlisle, see *BNJ* XXIX (1959), pp. 293–6. Roxburgh, B. fig. 28 (?) and R. C. Lockett sale, part V, lot 13 (ill.) which reads (*F*)*olbol(d):on: Roke* (which, just possibly, might be *Kore*, Corbridge, a mint of Earl Henry).

⁴ It also contained a coin of Stephen type VII (lot 66), now in Mr. Elmore-Jones's collection, which is of Castle Rising (*BNJ* XXVIII, (1958), p. 549, no. 3 in Table A). This coin was in the Bute collection in 1767 (see Appendix). It is certainly not to be identified with the Snelling illustration, which with its uneven edge should be recognizable if the coin reappears.

Snelling, who was a dealer, might later have sold this coin to Lord Bute, who already possessed one important coin from the same hoard that itself was probably acquired from Snelling.¹

There is admittedly much that is speculative in the above remarks. Nevertheless, enough is certain to establish the character of an important hoard. A summary and a list of the contents are appended. The burial date must have been after c. 1174, or whenever William the Lion's crescent-and-pellet issue began; if collected much after 1180, a parcel of coins would be likely to have fewer of the rare early types, and more of the recent issue. Nothing is known of the circumstances of the find; it was presumably discovered within ten years before 1769,² in the Isle of Man. Perhaps some or all of 'the other ancient pieces which were lately found there, and said to be Danish', also belonged to the same hoard.

The hoard may be summarized as follows:

Isle of Man, before 1769.

7 (+ ?) AR Scottish and English sterlings. Deposit c 1180.

English (1): Stephen, *BMC* type VII, mint and moneyer not recorded. Scotland (6): David I, gp. IVc, Berwick? (1); gp. I, III or II (1); David I or Malcolm IV, profile head and cross fleury with pellets (2); Malcolm IV, type III (1); William I, 2nd coinage, no details (1).

Disposition: Snelling and Lord Bute.

Published by Snelling, *Miscellaneous Views*, 1769, p. 41; and discussed by Ian Stewart in *BNJ*, XXXIII (1964) pp. 48-56.

APPENDIX

NOTE ON THE CONTENTS OF THE BUTE COLLECTION

The evidence for the contents of the Bute collection consists of the catalogue for the sale at Sotheby's on 11th June, 1951, a brief notice of 'The Bute Collection of Medals and Coins' contributed to the *Numismatic Chronicle* by Jonathan Rashleigh (*NC*, XIII, 1850, pp. 1-7), and a manuscript catalogue dating from the 1760's. The greater part of the collection seems to have been put together by John, third Earl of Bute, who had been Prime Minister to George III in 1762-3 and who died in 1792.

According to Rashleigh in 1850, it comprised some 4,700 pieces in all—English gold, 43, and silver, 197; Scots gold, 57, and silver, 66; Roman about 100; and 4,231 medals 'in all metals, and of every country in Europe'. Rashleigh commented 'The Scotch coins appear to have been selected with an attempt to form a series; also considerable regard has been paid to the condition of the specimens, for most of them are in good preservation, and they form altogether a very fair collection. Among them we observed a third of a Rider of James V (Cardonnel, gold, plate ii.10) and some rare coins of Mary in gold and silver. Also, a fine lion and sceptre piece of James VI, and a silver forty-shilling piece of the same king, 1561 (Cardonnel, pl. xi. 8). The Scotch collection as a whole is very satisfactory.'

Rashleigh's figures do not entirely accord with the evidence of the manuscript catalogue, and further doubt on their accuracy is cast by the errors in his references to individual pieces. The 'third of a Rider' of James V is a gold one merk or $\frac{1}{3}$ bonnet piece; the rider was not a type

¹ If it was not, Snelling would hardly have known of it to illustrate in this context.

² Since Lord Bute may not have owned the

David I sterling in 1767 (see Appendix), the hoard may have come into Snelling's possession very shortly before 1769.

MANX HOARD: LIST OF C

No.	<i>Snelling fig. no.</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Obv.</i>
1	1	Stephen	BMC VII	? Supposed to read .. MITA ..
2	5	David I	S. Group IVc	Bust. rt. + RE: XDA(v.) reading outwards
3	4	David I	S. Group I, III or II	Inscription begins with punched upright
4	3	Malcolm IV	S. type III	MMI engraved for MAL. Bust shown as left-facing but 'worn away' and pre- sumably incorrectly re- stored
5	—	David or Malcolm }	? Malcolm S. type IV	'Profile head, apparently with a helmet'; if left- facing (i.e. Malc. type IV) it could have inspired the erroneous reconstruction of the head of no. 4 by Snelling (his fig. no. 3)
6	—	David or Malcolm }	{ Gp. I, II or III Type III or IV	No details—bust perhaps illegible
7	2	William the Lion	2nd coinage— crescent-and- pellet type	LEREI(—) Sceptre-head worn
Others?	—	?	?	?

<i>Rev.</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Illegible	Apparently unknown to-day but if extant should be identifiable by irregular edge.
Crescent - and - pellet (with extra dots) in each angle of cross potent. + (?w. . . .) B(?)I:R:REW (some letters inverted or retrograde)	Bute collection in 1769 (Bute Sale, lot 209?); R. Carlyon-Britton coll. (? 1951); Stewart coll. (1956) fig. 2b of this paper. See Burns, I, p.28.
Illegible	
Pellets with stalks	See Burns, I, p.46.
'Same reverse' as Snelling no. 4—but Snelling no. 3 is also described as same as no. 4, so pellets on stalks are not necessarily implied	
'Same reverse' as Snelling no. 4—See remarks on rev. of. no. 5	[Bute coll. (lot 210) contained a Male. IV type III with illegible obv., fig. 3 of this paper].
Indeterminate inscription	
?	Snelling, p. 40 'many other ancient pieces . . . lately found' in Man might have been part of this hoard.

struck by James V. The remark about 'a silver forty-shilling piece of the same king [James VI], 1561 (Cardonnel, pl. xi. 8)' is complete nonsense. Cardonnel's plate ix (sic), no. 8, shows a forty-shilling piece of 1582, one of the classic rarities of the Scottish series, of which a specimen was catalogued in the Bute collection in the eighteenth century. What is presumably the same coin formed lot 256 of the Bute sale in 1951, passed through the H. A. Parsons (lot 756) and R. Carlyon-Britton collections, and is now in the writer's. The coin is worthy of note here, since although double struck it is perceptibly from dies other than those of the two varieties discussed by Mr. Robert Kerr (*NC* 1948, p. 104). The Bute specimen is illustrated in both the Bute and Parsons sale catalogues.

The Ashmolean Museum recently acquired from the sale of the numismatic library of Mr. Weber de Vore a sumptuous eighteenth-century catalogue of the Bute collection. Its fine red leather binding is embossed in gold with the Bute arms surrounded by the Garter, to which order Lord Bute was admitted in 1762. The contents are listed under the following headings:

	No. of Items
English Gold Medallions & Medals	7
— Gold Coins	29
— Silver Coins	179
— Large Silver Coins	32
— Copper & Tin Coins	29
Irish, Isle of Man, & Plantation Copper Coins	25
Scotch Gold Coins	38
— Silver Coins	144
— Large Silver Coins	39
— Copper & Billon Coins	30
Scotch Medallions & Medals Silver	11
Foreign Gold Coins	5
— Silver Coins	53
— Copper Coins	17

These categories and their totals are not exact. In a few cases duplicates are not listed with separate numbers, and one item, for example, covers a number of cut halfpence and farthings. Under English silver coins are included a few Irish and New England pieces. English copper embraces Carausius and Allectus as well as tokens and patterns. A few items have no details or weights (e.g. Richard I penny, Mary silver $\frac{1}{3}$ ryal) and these appear to be blank entries representing gaps in the collection which it was hoped to fill.

The catalogue includes a set of small English silver dated 1763, a medal of Prince Frederick's installation as Bishop of "Oznaburgh" in 1764, and a double sovereign of Maria Theresa of 1767. The English gold and silver coins are classified according to Snelling, whose *Miscellaneous Views* were published collectively in 1769, but the English parts of which had appeared separately in 1763 and 1762 respectively. The Scots coins, however, are listed with reference to Anderson's *Diplomatum et Numismatum Scotiae Thesaurus*, 1739; Snelling's *View of the Silver Coin and Coinage of Scotland* did not appear until 1774. Two columns are given for the weights of the English gold coins—one the theoretical ('per Indent'), the second the actual ('weight 1767').

There is every reason to think that the catalogue, which is uniform in format and handwriting, was written in 1767. Probably much of the collection was gathered in the 1760's. Unfortunately the catalogue does not refer to the David I penny from the Manx hoard, which, if Lord Bute concurred in the attribution to the Norwegian kings of Man, would not in fact have fitted into any of the sections of the catalogue. However, he may not yet have acquired the piece in 1767.

Though not strictly comparable with the figures in 1767 or with those given by Rashleigh, the totals at the time of dispersal in 1951 as shown by the sale catalogue were: English gold, 58 (to the end of the reign of George III), silver, about 310 to 1790; Scottish gold, 81, and silver 397. Much seems to have been added both between 1767 and 1850 (some English gold, and perhaps most of the foreign medals), and in the last century of the collection's existence. There is no reason to suppose that any of the coins listed in 1767 or subsequently acquired by the third earl were not still in the collection in 1951.

SOME SHORT CROSS QUESTIONS

By JOHN D. BRAND

ONE hundred years ago, there was only one Short Cross Question: to which King Henry all of these coins should be assigned? To Henry II as his second issue or to Henry III as his first issue? The absence of all English coins in the names of Richard I and of John was commented upon with puzzlement, as the records of the period showed references to coining in both of their reigns. It was the Rev. W. H. D. Longstaffe in 1863 who put forward for the first time the almost revolutionary theory that these pennies were actually issued by all four of these monarchs in succession, without change of design or even of the royal name.¹ Longstaffe distinguished virtually all of the varieties that we recognise today, only, unfortunately, reversing the correct order of the earlier issues. Following the discovery of the great Eccles hoard in 1864,² Sir John Evans published his classification of the Short Cross pennies which, though correcting Longstaffe's order, was a much simplified version, grouping together many dissimilar coins in some parts though elsewhere showing as separate issues coins which are virtually identical.³

This Evans classification remained the standard for the next fifty years, until Dr. L. A. Lawrence published the results of his researches and which is the standard system that is in use today.⁴ Lawrence's work has stood the test of time exceedingly well. Though nearly fifty years have passed again, modern enquiry can find fault only in detail. The only notable publications since Lawrence on these coins are the short papers by Mr. F. Elmore Jones, in which he subdivided the last group, class VIII, into four parts,⁵ and by Mr. R. H. M. Dolley on the coinage of the irregular mint at Rhuddlan⁶. No student can, however, afford to ignore the scholarly essay by Mr. G. C. Brooke which appeared in 1910.⁷

One type that has given generations much difficulty is Lawrence's class II. His IIa he described as:

'The contour of the whole head more rounded. The eyes appear to be made of two large pellets. The curls are many on both sides, and creep down towards the beard. Usually there are five pearls in the crown.'⁸

As one of the illustrations to his paper he showed the 'Lichfield' penny. It is just four years ago that Mr. Dolley and Mr. Elmore Jones, in a joint paper, called the authenticity of this 'Lichfield' penny into question.⁹ Their paper has unfortunately never been published, but Mr. Dolley has recorded the arguments in *Cunobelin*.¹⁰ I am in complete agreement with them that this coin has had its reverse legend altered by tooling and is not an emission from a mint at Lichfield, but I am forced to disagree with their choice as to the original reading. FILAIMER.ON.LV fits very nicely, but postulates a new type for this moneyer who is otherwise only known for classes Ia and early Ib. It would indeed be stretching the arm of coincidence if White had chosen an unique coin to alter into another unique coin.

¹ NC 1863, pp. 162-188.

² Thompson's *Inventory* 152.

³ NC 1865, pp. 255-95.

⁴ BNJ XI, pp. 59-100.

⁵ BNJ XXV, pp. 286-290.

⁶ Spink's *Numismatic Circular*, Nov. 1963, pp.

226-7.

⁷ NC 1910, pp. 291-324.

⁸ BNJ XI, p. 63.

⁹ BNJ XXX, p. 203.

¹⁰ *Cunobelin* 1963, pp. 29-36.

If Fil Aimer is rejected as a model, who can be put in his place? Assuming, as is most likely, that the letters ON are original work and that the initial cross was directly above one of the arms of the main voided cross, it must have been a very short moneyer's name with a long mint signature or, *vice versa*, a very long moneyer's name with a very short mint signature. It seems most unlikely that White, having tooled a new mint, would have then gone on to fabricate a new moneyer as well—and a common name at that—unless it was absolutely necessary. He certainly did not do this for the Helis coin of Oxford. The short moneyer and long mint can therefore in all probability be ruled out and the search confined to the long moneyers. Most of these can be eliminated on the grounds of length alone and there are left two principal likely originals: Goldwine of Canterbury and Stivene of London.

The first of these with a legend reading GOLDWINE.ON.CA, could fit, but is, in my opinion, not the original lettering of this strange coin. Stivene in its normal form is just a little too short, but an early variant spelling, Estivene, is exactly the right size. One of the coins in the British Museum, of early class IIa, reads ESTIVENE.ON.LV and, although not the same die, when compared with the 'Lichfield' penny corresponds with it exceedingly well. By rotating the 'Lichfield' coin ninety degrees in a clockwise direction the legends can readily be seen to have very similar spacings—

+ ESTIV ENE · ON · LV
HEFL+IOAN · ON · LI

or by rotating the London coin ninety degrees anti-clockwise

+ IOAN · ON · LIh EFL
IVENE · ON · LV+EST

Moreover, in the two places where the 'fit' is not too good, the 'Lichfield' coin is seen to have a mis-shapen letter, i.e. the 'h', and the 'n' of IOAN. However, it is not the same die and the final answer must remain an open question until a die link is found.

Discussion of the 'Lichfield' penny is a digression, though I think it is important to correct the attribution. There is a great variety of design of the head on many pennies that obviously fall on stylistic grounds somewhere between classes I and III. They are all rare, only some have all the characteristics of the Lawrence description, and there remains much work yet to be done on them. The coins that do not fit at all in this place, however, are what Lawrence called his class IIb. He described them as:

'Coarser work of much the same type (as IIa), pearls more numerous, curls fewer, often three on each side. Many of the coins have a colon on each side of the word ON on the reverse, instead of the usual single pellet.¹

The pennies with a colon are easy enough to classify by Lawrence. The similar pennies, but with normal pellet stops, have probably aroused more controversy amongst collectors in the last fifty years as to their exact classification, whether IIb or IV, than any other coins in this whole series. If they are all called IIb they greatly extend Lawrence's lists, not only of moneyers, but also of mints striking in this class. If they are called IV they can be virtually indistinguishable, by inspection of the obverses only, from coins with the colon stops. If the face is weakly struck or badly worn they can hardly be told apart from coins of IIIb.

¹ BNJ XI, p. 63.

It is my opinion that this part of the classification is one of the very few errors that Lawrence made. His IIb, so far from being a sub-variety of class II is a sub-variety of class IV and separated from the former by the whole of class III. Messrs. Dolley and Elmore Jones in their paper four years ago also put forward a similar proposition that the coins of IIb are later than those of IIIa, based largely on the negative evidence of recent finds¹ and Mr. Dolley has since published that in his opinion the order should be: IIa, IIIa, IIb, IIIb, IV, if in fact they do not overlap.²

What are Lawrence's classes III and IV? His descriptions are not a great help in distinguishing them from each other, but the illustrations to his paper are more helpful.³ All coins of class III have the beard composed of small curls: a feature that is otherwise found only on some varieties of IIa. The coins of class IV all have the beard composed of pellets: a feature that, in the whole of the Short Cross issues, is otherwise found only on IIb. This distinction by the beard is the most important difference to be noted and indicates the correct order of the varieties.

Class III is divided into two main groups: (a) with a large head, and (b) with a small head. Both have a pointed beard and to the practised eye there is little difficulty in placing any specimen to one or the other of these groups, even though there is within each a discernible development of style. Class IV exhibits a greater variety not clearly differentiated by Lawrence and I propose a sub-division into three sub-classes, or four if the coins with the colon stops are separated out.

IVa Three or four curls (occasionally more) on either side of the head. Similar to coins of class III apart from the beard. As in most, if not all, of the issues of Short Cross pennies the type is not frozen and a continuing evolution can be seen. In general, though not invariably so, the earlier coins of this group have a small head, similar in size to IIIb, which gradually gets larger. Included in this sub-class are the coins with colon stops on the reverse.

The exact relationship of these colon coins to the ordinary single pellet issues is not readily apparent, for whilst they are early in the sub-class they do not appear to be the earliest. It is a peculiarity which I can only compare with the ornamental letters that appear on some coins of class V and on some of class VI, and which also appear to have no rational explanation in the present state of our knowledge. Rather than give them a separate distinguishing letter, I prefer to denote them by an asterisk as IVa.*

IVb One or two curls either side of the head. The lettering is large and coarse, with the serifs to letters often placed inside the ends of the uprights. The letter s becomes blundered, often taking most unusual shapes.

IVc Lettering very similar in style to those of IVb, particularly in regard to the irregular placing of the serifs, but is noticeably smaller and neater. The letter s is well formed, but reversed, and the body of it appears to be made from a single iron. The outline of the chin is squarer and the pellets of the beard are often irregularly placed.

¹ *BNJ* XXX, p. 203

² Spink's *Numismatic Circular*, Nov. 1963, pp.

226-27.

³ *BNJ* XI, pp. 63-64, Plates II and III.

Lawrence mentions coins of class IV with an initial cross pommée on the reverse and quotes them as a pointer to the sequence of type from classes IV to V¹. Unfortunately he does not illustrate an example and I have only seen one coin that could be so described. It is in the Danish National Museum, Copenhagen, and came from the second Short Cross hoard found at Ribe.² It is of my IVb, moneyer Henric of London, and the initial cross is more like four blobs than a cross pommée³.

The chronology of these classes III and IV is based largely on the evidence of the mints at Shrewsbury and Durham. Mr. W. C. Wells published several interesting extracts from the Pipe Rolls referring to the mint at Shrewsbury and to a silver mine at Carreghova.⁴ In the year 1194 the burgesses of Shrewsbury were paid fifty four shillings for the cost of a new building to make pennies from the new mine. In the same year £20 was paid to Joseph the Clerk to sustain the Exchange at Shrewsbury, and a further £20 to purchase the mine. The mine was apparently opened about mid-summer 1194. In 1195 when the Clerk, Joseph Aaron, accounted for the mine, it showed little profit: £18 for the period from 24th June, 1194, to 21st May, 1195, and £2 7s. 8d. from 21st May to 1st August, 1195. After payment of wages for the entire period there was a deficit. In the same year, 1195, Joseph accounted for £2 0s. 2d. being the profit of the Exchange⁵ and also recorded that he had paid out £16 14s. 0d. to Robert of Shrewsbury, custodian of the mine at Carreghova and of the Exchange at Shrewsbury.

From these entries Wells concluded:

- (a) that it is *manifest* that all the Shrewsbury coins of the Short Cross series were issued between Michaelmas 1194 and Michaelmas 1195; and
- (b) as the Shrewsbury coins are of two classes only, IIIa and IV, the introduction of the latter must have occurred at some time in 1195.

He went on to argue that the mint at Durham which, on the authority of Roger de Hovenden, had been re-opened in 1196, or perhaps, on the strength of a phrase in the Pipe Roll for 1196, a little earlier, must have been re-opened in 1194 as its first coins were of class IIIb which comes between IIIa in issue at Shrewsbury in 1194 and IV which was issued in Shrewsbury in 1195. These assumptions are rather sweeping and are certainly not the only interpretation that can be put upon the few relevant facts available.

It may be considered as certain that the Shrewsbury mint commenced operations in 1194: the mint building was erected and silver was mined. It seems most unlikely, however, that it would only have coined silver obtained from the mine. If this had been the case, there would have been no necessity to have supplied money to sustain the Exchange. It may be assumed, therefore, with some confidence, that like other mints and exchanges it was 'open to all comers'. Accordingly, it would not necessarily have closed down at the same time as the mine closed. It is indeed not certain that the mine closed completely in 1195. Three moneyers in succession would seem to imply that the mint was open for more than just one year or fifteen months. Having acquired a mint and exchange the citizens of Shrewsbury would no doubt have tried to keep it for as long as possible.

¹ It may, or may not, be significant that Dr. Lawrence writing in 1922 (*SNC* Nov.-Dec. 1922) in reply to a criticism of his arrangement of the series, whilst stressing the significance of the reversed letter s as a link between classes IV and Va, did not mention the pommée initial cross.

² Not yet published. I am indebted to Otto Morkholm, the Keeper of Coins, for permission to

examine this hoard which is deposited in the National Museum, Copenhagen.

³ Mr. B. H. I. H. Stewart has since shown me a penny in his cabinet with a similar 'blob' initial cross, moneyer Henri of London.

⁴ *NC* 1932, pp. 215-235.

⁵ Recorded as the Exchange at Carreghova, presumably in error for Shrewsbury.

There is general agreement that the earliest moneyer at this mint was Willelm. The coins of Willelm however are not of class IIIa even though Lawrence himself classified them as such. They are actually of the oft disputed type, IIb *cum* IV, which I now classify as IVa. The beard on these pennies is composed of very small and very fine pellets, quite unlike the curly beard of class III. The next coins of this mint are also of IVa though a little later in style. They were first published by Wells in his paper and are of the moneyer Reinald. Curiously it did not occur to Wells to re-examine the attribution of the coins of Reinald which use the same obverse die as Ive of Shrewsbury. The single letter of the mint signature on these Reinald pennies is, as pointed out by Mr. Elmore Jones, in fact a blundered s for Shrewsbury and not a c for Canterbury.¹ There are accordingly now known four obverse dies and four reverse dies used at this mint used in a total of five combinations as follows:

IVa Willelm.	one obverse, one reverse.
IVa Reinald.	one obverse, one reverse.
IVb Reinald.	one obverse, one reverse.
IVb Ive.	same obverse as last, one reverse.
IVb Ive.	new obverse, same reverse as last.

From the preceding it may be concluded that IVa was in issue in 1194, and, on stylistic grounds, may even have started in that year. It must be presumed that Durham re-opened a little earlier, in the time of Bishop Hugh Pudsey. Roger of Hovenden's note of 1196 obviously refers only to the grant to the new Bishop, Philip of Poitou, on his appointment to the see in that year. His remark that coins had not been struck for many years would appear to be incorrect as the keepers of the see after Bishop Hugh's death on 3rd March, 1195 accounted for materials for the mint. I do not consider it at all necessary to assume that there is no chronological sequence in these issues, nor that Lawrence IIb comes between IIIa and IIIb, as has been suggested from the extracts published by Wells.² Hoard evidence is rather negative on the question, but is certainly not inconsistent with my conclusions.

The next question to be considered is in relation to one aspect of the organisation of the mint, and my remarks here are confined to the period in which class V was in issue. This restriction is simply due to the fact that class V is the only group within which I have done any detailed research on this point. It may or may not be relevant at other periods. In the last few years die comparison has become very fashionable among numismatists, but for the very good reason that there can be much to be learnt about coins from use of this technique.

Firstly I examined the one-moneyer mint of Bury St. Edmunds. The names, both of the moneyer, Fylke, and of the mint itself, show considerable variation and because of this the British Museum collections in particular include a comparatively large number of coins and varieties. The results obtained from comparing these coins for die identity were very encouraging. There are fifteen Bury St. Edmunds coins of this group in the British Museum and these include three pairs of coins struck from the same combinations of dies. The remaining twelve combinations form a broken chain and are made up from five obverses and ten reverses which, by simple arithmetic, is evident to be the classic, but conjectural, ratio of one to two. However, elsewhere there are three coins which slightly alter the position. Though all three fit into the chain, and in fact link up two parts so that there is an unbroken run throughout Vb, they do produce one new obverse die and one new reverse die, making the totals six obverses

¹ *BNJ*, XXVIII, p. 213.

² See *BNJ* XXVIII, p. 214, and Spink's *Numismatic Circular*, Nov. 1963, pp. 226-7.

and eleven reverses. The combinations are also uneven. The first obverse die is found in conjunction with no less than four reverses; the second obverse with two reverses, numbers four and five; the third obverse with three reverses, numbers five, six and seven; the fourth obverse only with reverse number seven; and the fifth obverse with three reverses, numbers seven, eight and nine. The last obverse, that of class Vc, is found with two reverse dies, but does not link at all with the preceding issue. This evidence tends to confirm that dies were used in the rough proportion of one obverse to every two reverses, but that this was more an accident of wear than a specific policy of issue. The sequence of spellings is of some interest. There are two variants from normal of the moneyer who is commonly spelt FVLKE. These are FVKE and FOLKE and both appear in the middle of the die chain, being reverses numbers six and seven respectively. The mint is first spelt SADMV (in one word), then, in order, S.EDM, S.AD, S.ADM, and in Vc reverts to S.AD and also S.AND (the N and D ligated).

At a two-moneyer mint, such as Ipswich, there is a much greater number of dies to contend with. To date I have found fourteen obverse dies in Vb and two in Vc. The moneyer Alisandre has fourteen reverse dies in Vb used with twelve of the relevant obverses, and only one reverse die of Vc used with both of the obverse dies. The other moneyer, Iohan, has only seven dies in Vb used with six obverses, but in Vc has two dies, each of which is used only with one of the obverse dies. No doubt examination of a larger number of coins will bring to light further dies and combinations of dies, and also correct the apparent disparity between the two moneyers which is perhaps due only to the fact that as Alisandre displays a greater variation of legend than Iohan so more of his coins are selected for collections. It is significant to note that both moneyers use the same obverse dies at the very beginning of Vb, later in Vb and also in Vc.

Three-moneyer mints display a similar pattern. At Oxford I have found eight obverse dies of which only one is used by all three moneyers, but a further four are each used by two moneyers: one by Ailwine and Henri, two by Ailwine and Miles, and one by Henri and Miles. At Lynn there are at least eleven obverse dies of which two are used by all three moneyers and a further one by Iohan and Willelm. The coins of this mint are so rare that it is not surprising so few links have yet been found. The coins of Exeter in this class are also rare. Of twelve obverses only one is used by all three moneyers and that is the sole die of class Va. However, a further four are used by Gileberd and Ricard, one by Iohan and Ricard, and one by Gileberd and Iohan. It is noteworthy that each of the moneyers has one reverse die of Va, and all three of these dies are used only with the single obverse die of that sub-class.

There are a further three mints which, according to Lawrence, each had three moneyers in class V. Two of these must be considered together, namely Northampton and Norwich, in view of another paper by W. C. Wells entitled "The Pipe Rolls and "Defalta Monetarium" ".¹ By dint of very special pleading he transferred two of the moneyers from Norwich to Northampton. On examination of the coins, however, those moneyers traditionally ascribed to Norwich prove to be all die-linked, which makes it virtually certain that all three were striking in Norwich and at the same time. I have not been able to find any die links of these three with the other three moneyers normally given to Northampton. But equally I have been unable to find as yet any die linking amongst the Northampton moneyers themselves. As Wells pointed out, Peter de Stokes paid to have four dies at Northampton in 1205 for one year. It does not necessarily and automatically follow that there were also four moneyers. It is not unknown for a single moneyer to have more than one die at the same time and it could be

¹ *NC* 1931, pp. 261-290.

that each of the Northampton moneyers in class V had four dies, but that they struck in succession. In the absence of die links there is no proof that they were striking at the same time.

At Norwich the moneyers are all die linked. Out of seventeen obverse dies five were used by all three moneyers and a further eight dies by two moneyers. The coins of this mint are more plentiful than those of the other mints previously considered, and by use of a number of reverse die links a complicated pattern can be seen.

NORWICH Class V

<i>Obverse Dies</i>		<i>Reverse Dies</i>		
<i>Type</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Gifrei</i>	<i>Iohan</i>	<i>Renald</i>
a*	1		1	1
a*	2		2	1
bi*	3		2	1
			2	
				<i>Renald</i>
bi	4	1	2	2
bi	5	2	3	2
bii*	6	3	4	3
bii*	7		5	
bii	8	3	5	
bii	9	4	6	4
bii	10	4	7	4
bii	11	5	8	4
bii	12		8	5
bii	13			6
bii	14	6	9	
bii	15	6	9	
		7		
e	16		10	7
e	17	8		

The lines denote use of the same die: horizontal and diagonal lines for obverse dies, and vertical lines for reverse dies. The numbers given to each moneyer bear no relationship to the numbers used for the other moneyers.

It will be observed that they fall into six groups and that there are only two 'odd' coins. Examination of a larger number of coins should fill in some of the gaps, and no doubt a number of combinations have been irretrievably lost through effluxion of time and by melting down. Evidently Gifrei did not strike in the first emissions from the mint, but came in with the 'second wave'. It may be worthy of note that both of Gifrei's reverse dies in the second group (his first coins) have aberrant spellings, Giefrei and Gieferei, which coincides with the change from Renald to Renavd, though the latter is permanent.

The complexity of the table, incomplete though it is, together with the evidence from the other mints¹ leads to the conclusion that, at least during the period in which class V was issued, the obverse dies in the provincial mints were not appropriated to the exclusive use of any one moneyer. They may indeed have been in a common pool for the use of all as needed. The frequency of the die-linking, bearing in mind the limited number of coins inspected, appears too extensive to be the result of mere borrowing by one moneyer from his fellows in the event of his own obverse die breaking or wearing out, and before he could be supplied with a replacement from the central die-cutting office in London. It is not certain that in a multi-moneyer mint sufficient obverse dies were in fact always issued to give one to each moneyer.²

The last mint to be discussed, and for a slightly different reason, is Rochester. Until 1902 it had only been credited with two moneyers, but in the great Colchester find of that year there were found two coins published as reading ANDREV ON R.³ One of these coins, now in my collection, was so singular that it was the only one, out of over ten thousand coins, to be specially recorded that the obverse was of curious work. Following Lawrence's re-classification of the Short Cross issues it can now be seen to be an obvious copy of an English penny. A few years ago it was submitted to Dr. Peter Berghaus who thought it could be of Westphalian origin. The other coin from Colchester is in the British Museum and closely resembles the coins of class Vb. On scrutiny however, it is also seen to be of irregular work, especially on the reverse. The only other penny I have traced purporting to be by the moneyer Andrev at Rochester is in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, unfortunately without provenance, and is a die duplicate of the British Museum specimen⁴. As there are apparently no known genuine coins of this moneyer, nor have there ever been, Andrev should be deleted from the lists for Rochester and added to Michael Dolley's roll of mythical moneyers. The remaining two moneyers, Alisandre and Hunfrei, are die linked and undoubtedly genuine.

I have often speculated on the question of how many Short Cross pennies in our trays are not of legal English origin. Lawrence outed a number but gave few details⁵. Those with very irregular legends are soon spotted, but there are quite a number which though reading sensibly are nevertheless of unofficial work. Some are very faithful copies of the originals and they range right through to caricatures. One type which Lawrence included in his lists of genuine coins is a variant of the Canterbury moneyer who on his regular coins is variously spelt Hernavd, Ernnavd or Arnavd, all ending with AVD. The British Museum has two coins reading Arnold both of which, though from different dies, are of irregular workmanship and have been noted as such on their tickets by Mr. Elmore Jones. They are the only two coins known with this particular spelling of the moneyer's name and so he too should also be consigned to mythology.

On the table of coins of Norwich it will be seen that those of class Vb are differentiated into two parts, Vbi and Vbii, which appear to be of chronological significance. There are two main features by which we distinguish Lawrence's Va and Vb. In the former the letter s is reversed and the initial cross is pommée: in the latter the s is normal and the initial mark reverts to a cross pattée. There are found many so called mules between the two varieties, and there may even occasionally be found on the same reverse die a cross pommée with a normal letter s.

¹ I have not checked the larger mints, but I understand that the Lincoln moneyers are all die linked in class V, and I have noticed occasional links in the mints of Winchester and York.

² See Exeter, *supra* p. 62, and Norwich Table p. 63 groups 2 and 6.

³ Thompson's *Inventory* 94 and *NC* 1902, p. 130.

⁴ A third specimen has since come to light, from an unpublished continental hoard.

⁵ *BNJ* XI, p. 89, but see also *BNJ* XXIII, pp. 201-3.

It is quite evident that the two issues to a certain extent overlap¹. In addition to the letter s all the pennies of Va have the letter r formed in a peculiar way. The top of the letter is made by a flat straight stroke which is joined to the 'tail' by a separate short straight stroke at an acute angle to it. Certain coins of Vb reproduce this flat-topped r, whilst others of Vb and all those of Vc have the normal curved top to the letter. On other stylistic grounds also, many of the flat-topped r coins have affinities with Va, particularly in the addition of extra curls, sometimes minute, on either side of the head. On the few coins where it is found the letter k is also parallel in being of the two forms, flat and round topped, though as the stroke is much smaller it is not so easily determined. It therefore seems convenient to divide Vb into two major parts: the earlier group with the flat-topped r as Vbi, and the later, larger group, those with the round-topped r, as Vbii. There is a discernible development of style within each group and the two groups are also found muled. The change is probably due to nothing more than a renewal of punches, but is useful when establishing die relationships. This may be a convenient place to note that the varieties of Vb which have on the obverse the letter x by itself between the hand and the sceptre head are normally fairly early in the series, but are found in Vbii as well as in Vbi. They are denoted on the table by an asterisk.

The last question to be considered is the chronology of classes V, VI and VII. Class V was certainly in issue in the year 1205. To support the statements of the Chroniclers there are many entries in the Pipe Rolls and Fine Rolls, some of which could indicate that production of the new issue commenced late in 1204. The year 1218 was proposed for the introduction of class VI largely on the authority of two writs dated 21st February in that year placing William Marshall junior in charge of the six mints striking in this group. Wells corrected the translation of these entries to exchanges, not mints, and published further references in the Memoranda Rolls in support of the dating.² Actually, however, this new evidence gave the first clue that 1218 saw the ending and not the beginning of this issue. Additional entries in the Memoranda Rolls give the proof that class VII was, in fact, issued in that year³. These Rolls give lists of moneyers and other mint officials, in the year 1218, and again in 1221-22, for five of the six mints. The one missing, Durham, is also referred to in the earlier of these years. The evidence may best be examined by taking the mints in two groups of three: firstly London, Canterbury and Bury St. Edmunds; then Winchester, York and Durham.

In 1217-18 there are several entries relating to the mints and moneyers. The Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Memoranda Roll gives a list of London moneyers as Abel, Elis, Iger and Ravf.⁴ This list must have been made up after 9th July, 1218 because it was on that date that Elis was presented.⁵ The King's Remembrancer's Memoranda Roll lists the Canterbury moneyers as Ioan, Tomas, Simon, Henri, Samuel, Eudo Chic, Roger (of Ipswich) and Walter, the last three being moneyers of the archbishop.⁶ Similar lists appear in the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Memoranda Roll. One, for the archbishop's moneyers only, repeats the names already mentioned and is dated 6th December, 1217.⁷ Another, dated 20th January,

¹ More than one writer in the last fifty years has suggested that they were issued simultaneously and merely represent the work of two die-cutters working together. My present view is that only one cutter would be needed to produce the whole of the country's requirements, and is based largely on the practical experiments carried out by Mr. D. G. Sellwood—*BNJ XXXI*, pp. 57-65.

² *NC* 1911, pp. 277-78.

³ These Rolls were brought to my notice by an

unpublished manuscript in the British Museum Coin Room written by the Rev. Mr. Tibbo.

⁴ *LTR* 2 H.III m.5. For convenience I express all these and subsequent names in the form in which they are found on the coins.

⁵ *LTR* 2 H.III m.3.

⁶ *KR* 2 H.III m.2, and archbishop's moneyers only on m.3.

⁷ *LTR* 2 H.III m.5 margin.

1218 repeats the names of all the moneyers with two exceptions: Roger of Rochester is recorded as an archbishop's moneyer 'in the place of Walter who retired to take the cross', and Saloman fitz Samuel replaces Samuel as a king's moneyer.¹ The sole moneyer at Bury St. Edmunds is recorded in the King's Remembrancer's Memoranda Roll as Willelm,² but on the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Memoranda Roll the name Willelm has been crossed through and Norman inserted above it.³ Four years later lists of moneyers are again given and which are basically the same as the latest lists of 1218 but with the significant differences that at London Terri had replaced Abel, and at Canterbury Eudo Chic became Ioan Chic⁴.

If the names on the Rolls are compared with those on the coins it is seen that most of them struck in both classes VI and VII, but a few struck in class VII only. At London Abel, Ilger and Ravf are known for both, whilst Elis and Terri are only found in VII. The class VII coins of Abel are all early in the series and he is the moneyer replaced by Terri. I was a little worried at one time as the coins of Elis are not very early, but have since found a reference in 1220-21 that Abel, Ilger and Rauf had, at that time, refused to admit him into their company.⁵ At Canterbury Ioan, Tomas, Simon/Simvn⁶, Henri, Roger, Samuel and Walter are all known for both classes. Ioan Chic is a signature used on pennies, but not until well on into the evolution of class VII. The earlier lists give the name Eudo Chic, and my present theory, on numismatic grounds alone, is that perhaps his earliest signature was Ivn or Hivn. Saloman is found only on class VII and he replaced Samuel whose coins in this group are all very early. Roger of Rochester, who must surely be the prolific Roger of R on the coins distinguishing him from Roger of Ipswich, is also only found in class VII and again the coins of Walter whom he replaced are all very early. At Bury St. Edmunds the order of the moneyers on stylistic grounds has long been thought to be: Ravf in VI and very early VII, then Willelm in early VII, followed by Norman in fairly early VII. The Rolls show Willelm to be a moneyer in December 1217 and supplanted by Norman in the following year. Accordingly, at all three of these mints there are moneyers who first struck coins in class VII recorded as moneyers by 1218, i.e., London—Elis, Canterbury—Saloman and Roger of R, and Bury St. Edmunds—Willelm and Norman. In addition, the class VII coins of the moneyers who dropped out of the lists: Samuel and Walter at Canterbury and Willelm at Bury St. Edmunds all in 1218, and Abel at London before 1222, are all of the styles generally agreed to be early in the group. This clearly indicates that class VII was being issued at some time in the year 1217-18.

Lawrence's lists show a number of other early class VII moneyers and these must be examined to see how they affect the proposition. For London he shows four. Adam whose coins are not of the earliest types of this group and in respect of whom there is some documentary evidence that he was not appointed until 1229-30, at the same time as Ricard de Neketon for whom Lawrence only noted coins of VIIc.⁷ Gefrei, or from the coins Giffrei, shown as VIIa only is actually of VIIc only. Nichole is also only found in the later emissions, and I have yet to find a class VII coin of Walter from this mint though he is well known at Canterbury. There are only two additional moneyers to account for at Canterbury. One is Osmund(e) of whom there are in fact no early coins, and the only documentary evidence I

¹ LTR 2 H.III m.5.

² KR 2 H.III m.3.

³ LTR 2 H.III m.5. The entry continues 'received one die on 7th December', but it is not clear to which moneyer this relates.

⁴ LTR 6 H.III m.4d. The London officials are also repeated on m.3d with the oft quoted reference to

delivery of dies for round halfpence and farthings.

⁵ LTR 5 H.III m.3(2)d.

⁶ These two spellings would seem to be used on the coins as alternatives for the same man and not to distinguish two separate moneyers.

⁷ Tibbo refers—LTR 14 H.III m.6d.

know is that in 1226 an Osmund was not to have a die that had been given to him.¹ The other is Roberd, or Robert, who was a class VI moneyer and is also found extremely early in class VII from a few rare coins. There is then a very obvious gap before this moneyer reappears and the records show a Robert of Canterbury appointed as a moneyer in November 1235 succeeding Tomas.² The explanation is, no doubt, that the original Robert ceased to be a moneyer shortly before the earliest list in the Memoranda Rolls was prepared.

The second group of mints at first sight seems to present quite contradictory evidence to the foregoing. Lists of moneyers, and other officials, for Winchester and York are given for both the years 1217-18 and 1221-22.³ At York there were four royal moneyers and two archiepiscopal moneyers. At Winchester there are two moneyers only. In the earlier year, 1218, the Archbishop of York was commanded to receive the oath of the moneyer and die-keepers of the Bishop of Durham and to notify their names to the Exchequer.⁴

At both Winchester and York the only coins of class VI are very late in the group and are of Lawrence VIc. The two moneyers of Winchester from the Rolls are Henri and Brien(?), and on the coins are Henri and Iohan, though I have been unable to confirm the latter. But for York there are only known coins of four moneyers—their names tally with the regal appointments—and apparently the archbishop's moneyers did not strike. This is even more curious as the Close Roll for 9th May, 1218 records that the king instructed the Sheriff of Yorkshire and the Mayor of York to let the archbishop 'have well and freely his dies of our money'.⁵ As the moneyers of class VIc are recorded for 1217 and for 1222 it seems to imply that they were striking in both of those years. However, if Lawrence's chronology is to be accepted, there should be extant coins of VIa and VIb also. At Durham, apart from some very rare and rather curious coins of VIa which will be discussed later, there is a long gap in the issues to rare coins of early VIIa.

There is only one plausible explanation of these apparent anomalies which occurs to me. Winchester and York both received their dies in December 1217—Winchester on the 1st and York on the 3rd December⁶—which were of the then current type VIc.⁷ The name of the Durham moneyer had to be notified to the die-cutter at London by the Archbishop of York and it is logical that his dies would be prepared a little later, by which time VIIa had been evolved. Therefore class VI came to an end and class VII was introduced at some time in that year 1217-18. For some reason all three of these mints were in operation for a very short time only. In 1222, although the names of the moneyers were listed, it does not necessarily prove that they were active, but may merely mean that if those mints were allowed to strike coins then they would be the officials responsible. In this connection it may be significant that Durham is not mentioned in the later year. It is quite a different case from the evidence at Canterbury and Bury St. Edmunds, where moneyers were listed in 1217-18 who had replaced others who had already struck in class VII, but leads to the same result. It is axiomatic that if a man is appointed to an office, although he may not be active, his predecessor certainly would not be.

If it is accepted that the close of class VI must have occurred in 1217 then, of necessity, the evidence for the dates of Vc and VIa must be re-examined. Lawrence chose the year 1210 for the introduction of Vc as the shape of the letter x is an St. Andrew's cross similar to that

¹ Tibbo refers—R. fin 1226, 145.

² Tibbo refers—KR 19 H.III m.5.

³ KR 2 H.III m.3 (York only); LTR 2 H.III m.5; LTR 6 H.III m.4d.

⁴ LTR 2 H.III m.1d.

⁵ NC 1931, p. 279.

⁶ KR 2 H.III m.3; LTR 2 H.III m.5.

⁷ It is of course possible that none of these dies were used, as apparently the archbishop's, at least, were not.

found on the Irish coins of John as King.¹ The authorities for the date of 1210 for the Irish coinage are being questioned however, and Mr. Dolley is coming to the conclusion that they were in fact issued as part of the great recoinage of c. 1205.² Even if it were true that the Irish coins were not issued until 1210, how relevant is it to the English pennies? The Irish letter x varies in shape, all having the basic form of a St. Andrew's cross, but none that I have seen bears more than the most superficial resemblance to that on the Short Cross coins. Brooke surmised that the Durham mint might again give the clue.³ Bishop Philip of Poitiers died 22nd April, 1208 and his successor Bishop Richard Marsh was not appointed to the see until June 1217, but it does not necessarily follow, as was seen earlier for the period 1195-96, that the mint would cease operations when there was a period *sede vacante*.

Several of the provincial mints, including Durham, are mentioned in the Pipe Rolls, usually where they were farmed to private individuals. The position is somewhat complicated as it is not always clear from the Rolls whether the entries relate to the current or to a prior year. Although the latest Pipe Roll published is for the year 1214⁴ the entries therein in respect of the provincial mints, with the exception of Durham, all appear to relate back to at least 1208 as do also all entries in the intervening Rolls. Several mints are not mentioned at all, but there is nevertheless a presumption that the provincial mints in general were closed in 1208 whilst Vc was in issue and, judging from the small number of dies used, not long after that type had been introduced. The much quoted conference of moneyers and their staffs in January 1208⁵ is sufficiently close to arouse suspicion that the subtle new characteristics of Vc could have resulted from it. The imposition of the interdict in March 1208, and the consequent disruption in some aspects of life generally, may have a bearing on why the provincial mints ceased operations—and why the rents for certain mints were a long time in being collected from their farmers—or again their closure may possibly be an outcome of the January meeting, especially as the number of mints is reduced drastically in Vc itself.

Of the two main mints only London appears to have a continuity of striking. Canterbury seems to have closed for a period. VIa coins of this latter mint are very rare and the only specimens I have noticed are very late in the sub-class, if indeed they should not be described as VIb. The abbatial mint of Bury St. Edmunds also closed in Vc and did not reopen until VIc was in issue. Durham is the only one apart from London which appears to have struck at all in VIa, but even there the coins are of a much neater style than is normally found at London though there are some fairly similar. I hazard that the introduction of class VI was probably round about the year 1210. I am quite unable to give any datings for the stages in this group which covers the barons' revolt, the civil war, and the invasion of Louis of France, and can only wonder at the apparent absence of any significant trace of these events on the coinage.

The chronology of the later parts of the Short Cross coinage would now appear to be as follows:

c. 1194	Class IV	
c. 1205	Va & Vb	(1) Opening with ten mints in Va: London, Canterbury, Chichester, Durham, Exeter, Ipswich, Lincoln, Norwich, Winchester and York;
		(2) Closely followed by six further mints: Bury St. Edmunds, Carlisle, Lynn, Northampton, Oxford and Rochester.

¹ *BNJ* XI, p. 71.

² *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* XCV, p. 245, and *Cunobelin* 1964, pp. 26-29.

³ *English Coins* 1st Edn. p. 105.

⁴ Pipe Roll Society LXXIII, 1959. The Pipe Roll

for 17 John has since been published (Pipe Roll Society LXXV, 1961) but does not affect the arguments.

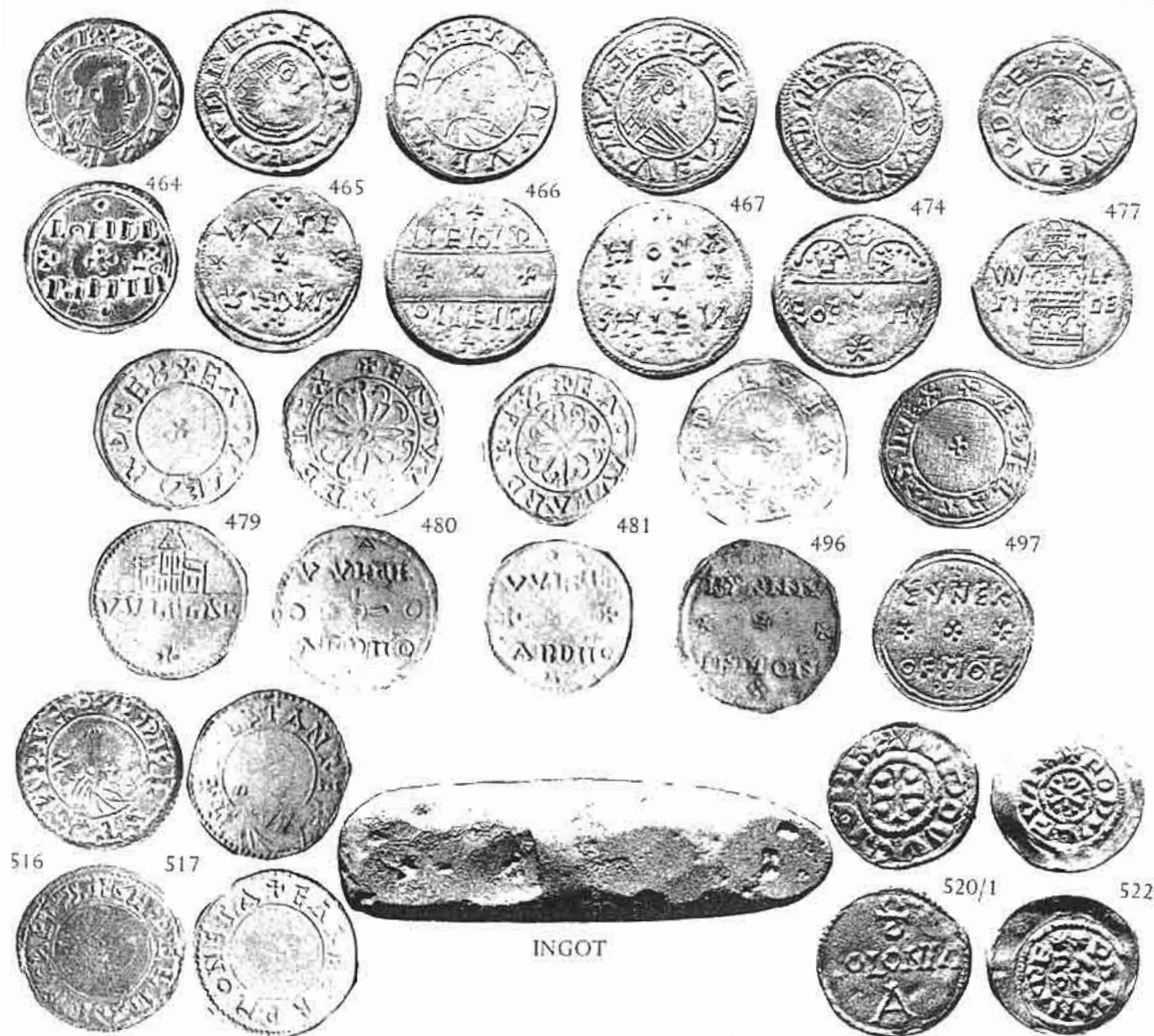
⁵ The fullest discussion is by Brooke in *NC* 1910, pp. 315-18.

c. 1208	Vc	London, Canterbury and Durham, with, for this year only?, Bury St. Edmunds, Ipswich, Lincoln, Northampton, Norwich, Winchester and York.
c. 1210	VIa	Restricted to London at first, apart from a small issue at Durham.
?	VIb	London and Canterbury.
c. 1217	VIc	London, Canterbury, Bury St. Edmunds, Winchester and York.
1217-18	VII	London, Canterbury and Bury St. Edmunds, plus Durham (in this year only?).
1242	VIII	London, Canterbury and Bury St. Edmunds.

I have finished the list with the introduction of class VIII for in that year 1242 Otto fitz William, the hereditary die-maker, presented a Richard Abel to the Exchequer to be cutter of the dies.¹ A change of engraver is a much more logical reason for the change in style than a change in mint administration by Nicholas of St. Albans.

I cannot close without acknowledging the help I have been given in my studies. The great museums have, as always, given generously of assistance and facilities, but I would in particular like to thank three individuals—Messrs. Michael Dolley, Elmore Jones and Peter Woodhead—who have all taught me so much, and also Roy Trett who has translated from the Latin for me. My greatest debt is due to the man who converted me from coin collecting to coin study, and who has constantly encouraged me in my endeavours—Albert Baldwin.

¹ Tibbo refers—LTR 1242 m.4



INGOT

ROME (VATICAN) HOARD II



COINS OF THE HUNTINGDON MINT



NORWICH OR NORTHAMPTON—A 'SHORTCROSS' PROBLEM

By F. ELMORE JONES

THE three early 'Shortcross' pennies of Northampton which are figured on Pl. VII and are described below were unknown either to Lawrence or to Wells and give us a new moneyer for that mint. To the best of my knowledge this is only the second time it has been possible to add a new name to Lawrence's table of moneyers in *BNJ* XI (1915), Rodbert F. B. (as distinct from Rodbert) at Oxford having been the first to be added.

MINT OF NORTHAMPTON

- Class 1a (1) HENRI . . . RE/X
+ WILLELM·ON·NORA Pl. VII Fig 5. (P. Woodhead).
(2) HE . . . ICVSR/EX
+ WILLE[LM·ON·]NORA Same die as No. 1. Pl. VII Fig. 6.
Class 1b (3) HENRICVS·R/EX
+ WILLELM·ON·NORh Pl. VII Fig. 7.

MINT OF NORWICH (OR NORTHAMPTON)

- Class 1b (4) HENRICVS R/EX (An early 1b die).
+ REINALD·ON·NOR Pl. VII Fig. 8
(5) HENRICVS R/EX Same die as No. 4 (Double struck)
+ WILLELM·ON·NOR Pl. VII Fig. 9.

WILLELM should now be recorded as a *Northampton* moneyer in Class 1a and b and the purpose of this article is to consider what effect this discovery has on the age-old problem of which coins, if any, in this Class should be assigned to Norwich; a problem which seemingly is still insoluble¹. For this purpose a brief recapitulation of the general picture may be helpful.

The distinction between the two mints presents no difficulty at all in the case of the later (post 1205) Class 5 coins. It is abundantly clear that both mints took part in the recoinage of that year and that Lawrence's allocation of the three moneyers ADAM, ROBERD and ROBERD.T. to Northampton and the three moneyers GEFREI, IOHAN and RENAUD to Norwich is absolutely right—and this despite the fact that a GEFREI *must* be accepted as a Northampton moneyer in Class 2b (*not* Class 1b as recorded by Lawrence) on the strength of two reverse dies both reading NOHA.

Nor is there any problem in the case of the five early Shortcross moneyers FILIP, HUGO, RAUL, SIMUN and WALTER, all of whom use an unequivocal Northampton mint signature (i.e. one ranging from NORH to NORAMTU) on some of their dies in Class 1, if not actually on all of them. The following analysis of the readings of the 23 coins in the British Museum of Class 1 of these five moneyers is enlightening and it is significant to observe that it is the coins of the only *six* letter name (WALTER) on which the indeterminate NOR mint signature predominates.

¹ The type classification used throughout is that of Lawrence in *BNJ* XI. It is appreciated that this classification defies precise distinction between the

coins of Classes 2, 3 and 4 but this limitation is not of any consequence for the purpose of this paper.

<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Coins</i>	<i>Reading 'NOR' only</i>	<i>Extended Readings</i>
Filip	3	—	3
Hugo	3	—	3
Raul	7	1	6
Simun	1	—	1
Walter	9	6	3
	—	—	—
	23	7	16

Within these limits all is straightforward but there are still three moneyers to be fitted into place and it is here that the element of uncertainty is very apparent. Two of these are REINALD and WILLELM, all of whose coins, apart from the three 'new' coins of the WILLELM recorded above, read NOR only and could therefore be of either mint. REINALD¹ drops out in Class 1c but a WILLELM, who is presumably, but not necessarily, the same moneyer as that striking in Class 1, continues to strike in Class 4 using the abbreviated mint signatures NO and NOR and in Classes 3 and 4 the third 'indeterminate' moneyer RANDUL, whose coins read N, NI (sic), NO and NOR, appears on the scene and is attributed to Northampton. I know of no evidence against this latter attribution but neither Lawrence nor Wells seem to have published their reasons for it. I find it difficult to believe that this RANDUL, could possibly be identified with the Randulf of Rouen to whom the site of the Northampton mint was assigned on its closure in 1218 or with the RAUL of the Class 1 coins bearing in mind that Lawrence regarded RAUL as being a *later* version of the same name.

As to the NOR coins of REINALD and WILLELM in Class 1 which are undoubtedly the crux of the whole problem, these are at present assigned to Norwich. Norwich has always been assumed to have been a Class 1 mint and the question of the attribution of these 'indeterminate' coins seems to have been settled by Sir John Evans as long ago as 1865,² albeit quite arbitrarily, by the attribution of the coins of REINALD and WILLELM to Norwich and those of RANDUL to NORTHAMPTON. These attributions still prevail; they were accepted by Lawrence (but not by Wells) and Brooke endorses them in *English Coins*. However, I think Lawrence may have been influenced by the assumption (which may be only a coincidence, cf. the coincidence of a GEFREI at both mints) that the Class 5 Norwich moneyer RENAUD, who uses the earlier spelling RENALD on what is probably his earliest die, is to be identified with the REINALD of the Class 1 coins but I think the interval of time between the end of Class 1 (c. 1189) and 1205 is too long for this to be valid. It is clear, however, that the emergence of a WILLELM as a Northampton moneyer reopens the whole problem and poses the question as to whether Norwich was, in fact, a Class 1 mint at all. It is true that Norwich was the seat of one of the nine Exchanges set up on the inception of the Shortcross coinage in 1180³ but so too was Nottingham which, so far as we know, certainly did *not* have a mint at this period and there is no reason to assume that Nottingham was alone in this respect.

A die link between the undoubted Northampton coins and those assigned to Norwich would settle the problem once and for all but so far I have been unable to find one. The search for one is a formidable task and it remains to be seen whether this vital piece of evidence, if in fact it

¹ I am convinced Lawrence was in error in recording this moneyer at Norwich in Class 4 in two readings REINALD and REINAUD and am sure the coins do not exist. If they do exist they could well be the key coins for a solution of the problem under discussion but they are not to be found in the British Museum or in the Ashmolean and Fitzwilliam Museums—nor were they in Lawrence's

own collection or the Wells collection. I am convinced that Lawrence's slip stems from a misinterpretation of the type Classification of two Class 1c coins in the Colchester Find and recorded in *Num. Chron.* 1903 as being of Evans Type 2.

² *Num. Chron.* 1865 p. 219 f.

³ D. F. Allen. *B.M.C. Henry II 'Cross & Cross-lets' Type*. Introduction p. xci.

exists, will ever come to light. I have, however, found a die link between REINALD and WILLELM which proves that both coins (Figs. 8, 9, Pl. VII) emanated from the same mint and that these two moneyers stand or fall together.

This is a useful discovery and in the light of the evidence of the unpublished coins only two theories are possible. Firstly that Norwich did not strike in Class 1 at all and did not start up until the recoinage of 1205¹, it being only logical to assume, as indeed is assumed now, that the 'indeterminate' Class 4 coins of WILLELM should be given to the same mint as those of the WILLELM of Class 1, and, secondly, that the existing attributions hold good and that there was a moneyer WILLELM in Class 1 at both mints.

In that case Willelm's tenure of office at Northampton cannot have lasted very long, to judge by the rarity of his coins, but this also applies to two other Northampton moneyers GEFREI and SIMUN whose term of office could well have been even shorter than WILLELM's.

The former theory seems to be the more logical of the two but I have always been somewhat wary of the application of logic to problems of this nature. With reluctance I think I must decide that no firm conclusion is possible without fresh evidence coming to light and consequently that the problem still remains unresolved.

Writing in *Num. Chron.* 1931 Wells' solution of it was to transfer REINALD to Northampton but to retain the Norwich attribution for WILLELM. Two coins of REINALD are illustrated on the plate of Shortcross coins in *BNJ XXXI* 1931 Pl. VIII (nos. 4 and 12) alongside fourteen undoubted coins of the Northampton mint, no. 4 actually being a coin of REINALD in Class 1a, an unpublished sub-type for the moneyer and one not recorded by Lawrence. In point of fact the evidence Wells uses for both these attributions is misleading.

If Norwich was not a Class 1 mint it would be interesting to know why East Anglia, a wealthy part of the country in 1180, should have played no part at all in the recoinage of that year and subsequently such a major part in the recoinage of 1205. Also just why Northampton with as many as seven moneyers in Class 1 (and six in Class 1a in which respect it ranks equal with Winchester and second to London) should have been such a predominant mint in 1180, especially bearing in mind that in the preceding coinage the Northampton mint had been closed for something like fifteen years whereas East Anglia had been particularly active during that period.

However, administrative disruptions of this kind are typical of the reign and as regards the events of 1180 it is hardly an exaggeration to say that the mints which were active previously were closed down and those which had been closed were re-opened. It is against this background that we are faced with the problem under review here.

In conclusion I can only add that I hope some useful purpose has been served by this discussion of it and that such further evidence as I have been able to bring forward may assist its ultimate solution.

It only remains for me to express my gratitude to Mr. P. Woodhead for his excellent photography from which the Plate has been produced and to acknowledge his courtesy in allowing me to record his coin which is Fig. 5 on it. The other four coins on the plate are in the collection of the writer.

¹ We may reject Lawrence's recording of IOHAN in Class 4 at Norwich as having any real bearing on the question of whether that mint was in fact in operation before the recoinage of 1205. The coin on which Lawrence's recording is based is only known from one pair of dies. The reading IOHAN ON NORW is impeccable but the bust is quite unlike that on any other Shortcross coin and it may well

be a continental imitation. It is 'of the period' but it is certainly not from *official* dies. The possibility of REINALD in Class 4 has already been mentioned and I am convinced that the only coins of this Class which can be assigned to Norwich are those of WILLELM—with RANDUL's coins in Classes 3 and 4 still to some extent indeterminate.

THE COINAGE OF RICHARD OLOF

By DAVID WILMER DYKES

AFTER a period of operation lasting only some two years the Irish recoinage of Henry III came to an end in 1254. On 8 January of that year Roger de Haverhull, the Warden of Ireland's one mint at Dublin, was ordered to cease production, to dismiss the mint workmen and to return his dies to England. Anglo-Irish coinage in the middle ages was intermittent in the extreme and although English issues continued to be put out in the remaining years of Henry III's reign there seems to be little doubt that 1254, the year in which Ireland was assigned to the future Edward I, marked the end of a truly Henrician coinage in that country¹.

There are, however, among the Carlyon-Britton Irish coins now in the Ulster Museum two Long Cross pennies of apparent Henry III type which the late Raymond Carlyon-Britton was persuaded to classify tentatively with the early Irish issues of Edward I. Carlyon-Britton's attribution of his pieces to Edward I—apparently unpublished—was based on a comparison of their style with certain English issues discerned by L. A. Lawrence and the Fox brothers². Lawrence and the Fox brothers concluded that in England for the first six years of Edward I's reign (1272–1307) Long Cross coins in the name of Henry III continued to be struck. They suggested that coins struck as late as 1274 were in no way to be distinguished from the issues of Henry III but that there were two types of distinctive styles (Lawrence Class VI and Fox Type I; and Lawrence Class VII and Fox Type II) which could be attributed to Edward I. Both these types can be recognised 'by the artist's attempt to render the King's hair in naturalistic fashion, instead of by the conventional arrangement of crescents and dots which had previously been customary'. Type I (Class VI) of coarse and careless work the Fox brothers dated to 1274 and Type II (Class VII) of Edwardian style to a period within the dates 1275 and 1278. A number of London coins of Type II, it should be remarked, are distinguished by the inclusion of Lombardic 'U' 's in their legends³.

Carlyon-Britton's Irish coins are broadly of traditional Henry III Long Cross design but the King's hair and beard are here also treated more realistically than in the 1251–54 coinage. The two coins are temporarily catalogued in the Ulster Museum as Nos. C.B.367 and C.B.371. A companion piece to one of the Carlyon-Britton coins, but from different dies, is in the Irish National Collection at Dublin and was listed in 1911 by G. Coffey in his *Catalogue of Anglo-Irish Coins in the National Museum of Ireland* as Henry III, no. 32 (page 13). A fourth coin was listed and illustrated in Seaby's *Coin and Medal Bulletin* for March 1957 (IR. 774, p. 123; Plate II). This last piece was ultimately purchased by Dr. T. S. Agnew of Jerrettspass, Co. Down, who also has in his cabinet a fifth coin purchased as part of a lot (No. 1322) of 33 coins at the Lawrence sale in November, 1951.

¹ For the Irish recoinage of 1251–54 see D. W. Dykes, 'The Irish Coinage of Henry III', *BNJ* xxxii, pp. 99 et seq.

It may not be without some significance that the formal assignment of Ireland, with the exceptions of the cities and counties of Dublin and Limerick (later included), was made to the future Edward I on 14 February 1254 little more than a month after the cessation of minting in Ireland.

² L. A. Lawrence, 'The Long Cross Coinage of

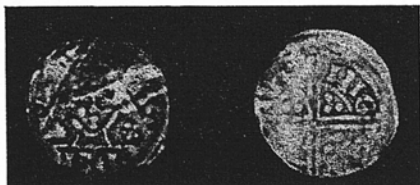
Henry III and Edward I', *BNJ* ix, pp. 145 et seq.

H. B. and J. S. Fox, 'Numismatic History of the Reigns of Edward I, II and III', *BNJ* vi, pp. 197 et seq., and succeeding volumes. The coins of Edward I in the name of Henry III are dealt with by the Fox brothers in volume vii, pp. 93–97.

³ Type II London coins of PHELIP have Lombardic 'u's both in the King's name and in the mint town name LUND; Type II London coins of RENAUD also have a Lombardic 'u' in LUND.

The five coins which are the only ones of their type known to the writer are described below and illustrated through the kindness of the Ulster Museum, the National Museum of Ireland, Messrs. B. A. Seaby Limited and Dr. T. S. Agnew.¹

(i) *Ulster Museum C.B.367*



Obverse : The King's crowned head facing, within a triangle. Beard and fringe made up of pellets set closely together to give a more natural effect than in the earlier Henrician coins. The King's locks of hair are also rendered more naturalistically. The eyes are made up from annulets and pellets. In his right hand the King holds a sceptre, the head of which, made up of three pellets and short limbs, is flared to suggest a fleur de lys rather than a cross. There is a pellet to the right of the sceptre-head. The King's crown also has a central fleur made up of three pellets. In the right vertex of the triangle there is a cinquefoil or rose with a central pellet and pellets for leaves.

The legend HENRI CUSR EX III' runs clockwise around the triangle starting to the right of its apex. The E, N and R of HENRICUS are ligulated; the N is reverse-barred; the C is closed and barred and the U is Lombardic and barred. The x of REX appears, as in the other coins, to have pellets at the end of its limbs.

The whole design is contained in a beaded circle.

Reverse : A long voided cross pommée with a pellet at its centre and a group of three pellets in each quarter.

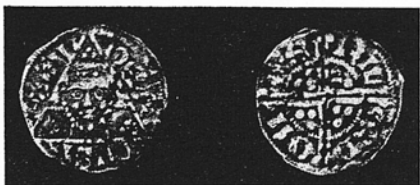
The legend RIC/ARD/(OND)/IVE (N reverse-barred) runs clockwise around an inner beaded circle: the v of DIVE is a wedge-shaped Roman letter.

Another beaded circle contains the whole design,

Weight : 21.4 grains.

This coin is unfortunately struck slightly off centre and is also worn so that its details are not as clear as they might be.

(ii) *National Museum of Ireland — Coffey 32*



Obverse : Different die from (i) but similar design. HENRICVS has an unbarred c and appears to have a wedge-shaped Roman V(v).

Reverse : Different die from (i) but wedge-shaped Roman v in DIVE.

Weight : 22 grains.

¹ The writer is grateful to Mr. W. A. Seaby, Dr. William O'Sullivan and Messrs. Peter Seaby and Frank Purvey for their generosity in supplying him with information about four of the coins listed,

providing him with the photographs and granting him permission to use them in this note. He is likewise indebted to Dr. T. S. Agnew for generously allowing him to examine and photograph his two coins.

(iii) *Formerly Lawrence Collection: Lot 1322 — Sale 28 November 1951. (Now T. S. Agnew Collection)*



Obverse : Different die from (i) and (ii) but similar design. The flared pelleted fleur to sceptre-head and pelleted x in REX are clearly shown. HENRICVS has a wedge-shaped Roman v.

Reverse : Different die from (i) and (ii) but again a wedge-shaped Roman v in DIVE.

Weight : 20 grains.

(iv) *Formerly Seaby IR 774 (Now T. S. Agnew Collection)*



Obverse : Different die from preceding coins but similar design. The flared pelleted fleur to sceptre head and pelleted x in REX are clearly shown as is the pelleted fleur to crown. There does not appear to be a pellet to the right of the sceptre-head. Unbarred c and Lombardic u in HENRICVS.

Reverse : Again different die. The v of DIVE previously normal Roman is now an unbarred Lombardic u which could be taken to be a d (DIDE).

Weight : 22.4 grains.

(v) *Ulster Museum C.B.371*



Obverse : Style different and inferior to four previous coins. King's eyes are almond-shaped, being made up from crescentic irons and pellets. Pellet before HENRICVS which has a wedge-shaped Roman v. Pellet also to the right of the sceptre-head.

Reverse : Again different die. DIVE has an unbarred Lombardic u which again could be read as a d.

Weight : 21.2 grains.

This coin is probably a contemporary forgery.

These Anglo-Irish coins bear only a superficial resemblance to the English Class VI (Type I) coins while the lettering and its construction differs. For instance the E, N and R of HENRICUS are ligulated while in the English series the R is never joined to the preceding two letters. The style of the King's head again is different and the crown does not have the more 'modern' lily form of the English crown: it retains the pelleted fleur of the earlier Henrician series although it is treated in a somewhat different way. The real point of contact with the English Long Cross series of Edward I lies in the use of the Lombardic U forms which appear on the English coins of Class VII (Type II) and with the date of which the Irish coins accord. The five Irish pieces naturally form a little group of their own and, although the derivation of their design is obvious, stylistically they should not be associated with the recoinage issues of 1251-54. All five coins, though, are in the name of one moneyer, RICARD, and at one time it did occur to the writer that they might in reality be continental imitations of the ordinary Henrician pennies struck by, or for, Richard Bonaventure, in part, it must be admitted, because of the Lombardic lettering and because of the stylistic differences both with the Irish coins of 1251-54 and with the English Long Cross coins of Edward I.

It is unfortunate that the provenance of none of these coins is known today and of course it is true that certain more or less contemporary continental rulers, the Counts of Lippe for example, had a penchant for the triangle design but put their own titles on the Long Cross type. Direct German copies of John's Irish coins (but omitting the reverse crescent) were found in the Hildesheim hoard¹ but these five Henrician coins seem to have no known continental reference. Again, although (v) is certainly a suspect piece, none of the coins appears to be a contemporary forgery of those of Bonaventure. The writer now believes that Carlyon-Britton was right in his suggestion and the contention of this note is that these coins were struck a quarter of a century after Henry III's recoinage and shortly before that of his son. The lack of much stylistic similarity between these coins and their suggested English counterparts is accepted but such a charge might equally well be levelled at the earlier Henrician Long Cross coins. The essence of the argument for associating these apparent Irish coins with the English Edwardian issues lies more in the explicit testimony of documentary evidence.

The paucity of Irish mint documents was remarked upon in the last volume of this *Journal* but such documentary evidence as there is points to a revival of Irish coinage under Edward I in the years immediately preceding the start of his great recoinage in 1279. The evidence is sketchy in the extreme but in February 1275 Joseph Chauncy, the English Treasurer, was instructed to deliver to Stephen de Fulburn, newly appointed Bishop of Waterford and Treasurer of Ireland, 'two dies of the King's money to be taken with him into Ireland to make therewith the King's money there'². Fulburn was issued with letters of safe conduct and probably left England a month later³. Minting operations did not begin in Ireland as soon as he arrived there but the next year the Dublin mint was evidently the

¹ The writer is also indebted to his friend Mr. R. H. M. Dolley for this reference and for permitting him to read in advance of publication his paper on 'The Earliest German Imitations of Anglo-Irish Coins', *Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik*, Heft 18 1964 (in the press).

² 3 February 1275. De cuneis liberand. Item mandamus est fratri Joseph de Cancy Thesaurarius quod duos cuneos monete Regis libet (sic) venerabili

patri S. Waterford Episcopo deferend serv in Hibernia ad monetam Regis ibidem inde facienda.

Close Rolls, 3 Edward I membrane 23. (P.R.O. ref. C54/92). An English abstract is given in *Calendar of Close Rolls*, Edward I, 1272-79, p. 146.

³ The letters of protection to Fulburn were issued on March 4, 1275. *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland*, 1252-84, No. 1101, p. 192.

scene of some activity again. That this was so is made clear by a reference to the mint contained in a memorandum of a commission of inquiry into the state of the Irish Exchequer and the Treasurer's accounts set up nearly ten years later in 1285.¹

The memorandum, which is preserved in the Public Record Office, records the existence of three audited mint accounts submitted to the commissioners to substantiate charges made against Fulburn. Few details other than dates are given but it emerges that a Richard Olof held the Irish Mint from 8 June, 1276 until 1 May, 1279², that is to within sixteen days of the new Edwardian dies being issued to the English moneyers for the great recoinage. Apart from this one solitary and regrettably bare fact little or nothing is known about Richard Olof. He or perhaps a near relative was established in Dublin as one of its leading citizens a quarter of a century earlier³; but that Richard Olof had no apparent connexions with minting or the coinage. One can, however, conclude from their surname that both Richard Olof (Olave)'s were descended from one of those old Dublin Ostman families now assimilated with the more recent English community.

Olof's account is not the only reference to minting activities at Dublin in the late 1270's. Two entries relating to the Irish mint in Olof's time may be found in the Treasurer's expenditure rolls. During the Michaelmas term of 1278 a goldsmith named Richard received two payments from the Irish Exchequer, one of five marks and the other of £4-7s.-1½d. 'for divers instruments etc. for the use of the moneyers'⁴.

There can be no doubt whatsoever from these tantalisingly brief records that the Dublin mint was again in operation between the years 1276 and 1279. Bearing in mind that dies were ordered from London in 1275, it is reasonable to conjecture that the type of coin being struck would approximate roughly in style to contemporary English types although on an analogy with the previous issue of 1251-54 it would not need to be a slavish copy. It seems, therefore, reasonable to suggest that the moneyer RICARD of the coins was none other than the contemporary Richard Olof of the Fulburn inquiry striking his coins as a moneyer directly under the control of the Treasurer.

Richard Olof's coins are rare but the die differences do not point to a very low mint output. Their rarity can be more satisfactorily explained by the complete demonetisation of the Long Cross series in August 1280 and the short period of time that the coins had to find their way into hoards.

It may perhaps not be out of place to close with a digression on the Fulburn inquiry. Stephen de Fulburn was a trusted servant of the crown and in 1281 he succeeded Robert de Ufford as Justiciar of Ireland, combining his new office with that of Treasurer. Edward I's preoccupation with the conquest of Wales at this time, though, led to heavy demands on the resources of the Dublin Government and added to the difficulties of its already over-extended

¹ De Statu Cambiorum Dublinie et Waterford' Q.R., Irish Exchequer, Bundle 530, E.B. 2544. (P.R.O. ref. E101/234). See also *Cal. Docs. Irel.*, 1285-92, No. 2, pp. 7-9. The account of 'Donald and Andrew Spersholt' referred to by James Simon, *Irish Coins* (1810 ed.) p. 14, under the year 1275 was in reality rendered by the Florentine James Donati and Andrew de Spersholt in 1282 for the previous two years.

² See note 1. The three accounts are in the names of Richard Olof (8 June 1276 to 1 May 1279), Walter Vured (or Unred) (1 May 1279 to 30 May 1280) and Henry de Ponte and James Donati

together with Walter Vured and Humphrey le Gann 'custodes cuneorum et fundatores' (30 May 1280 to 21 September 1281). It would appear that all three accounts were disallowed (disadnotata) by the Auditors.

³ *Twenty Third Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland* (1891), pp. 80 et seq., and *Historic and Municipal Documents of Ireland*, 1172-1320 (ed. Gilbert, Rolls Series, 1870), p. 116.

⁴ *Cal. Docs. Irel.*, 1252-84, No. 1497, pp. 288-89 and *Cal. Docs. Irel.*, 1285-92, No. 169, p. 65. It emerged in 1285 that the Treasurer had retained the writs for these payments.

and not altogether efficient administration. Following complaints of peculation directed against the new Justiciar the inquiry was instituted and in 1285 Fulburn was found to owe the King some £13,235¹. The vehemence of the charges of graft, corruption and inefficiency brought against Fulburn militates somewhat against their validity especially since the Justiciar's chief accuser Nicholas de Clere, who replaced him as Treasurer and who was an unscrupulous political rival with a deep hatred of Fulburn, was himself accused of even graver charges seven years later².

The inquiry and the accusations it heard are of special interest to numismatists since they covered the years from Fulburn's appointment as Treasurer to Michaelmas 1284 and consequently were in part concerned with the period of the great recoinage. One of the more serious charges concerned the recoinage itself and evidence was taken as to the 'state of the mints of Dublin and Waterford and the money coined at Roscommon'. 'Ireland', Fulburn's accusers contended 'is much oppressed and nearly destroyed by the changes of the mints, so say the people of that land.' Earlier it had been alleged that having prohibited the old Long Cross money the Justiciar had 'caused new money to be made. It was called *Scalding*, Bishop's money, or *Stephening*, from the name of the bishop. All old, small, and worn out money ought thus to have come into the mint, whence infinite profit. Of the profit nothing is found . . . By such a mint alone anyone might grow rich. By receipt of small money by weight with white money, and payment of it to the creditor in place of large and good money, anyone might grow rich. It cannot be known what is thus received or paid, because receipts and payments occurred now in the Exchequer and now in the Chambers.'³

This allegation, however confused and one-sided it may be, is indicative of a widely-held contemporary view of recoinages and is reminiscent of Matthew Paris's feelings about the English recoinage of 1247.

'The people were so troubled by divers precepts of the King concerning the receiving of money, proclaimed by the voice of a herald throughout the cities of England, that they would rather a measure of corn had cost more than twenty shillings; for exchange was carried on but in few cities: and when they got there, they received a certain weight of new money for a certain weight of old, and were obliged to pay thirteen pence on every pound for the smith's work, or moneying, which was commonly called Whitening . . . The people were therefore reduced to great straits, and suffered no slight injury, inasmuch as twenty shillings could scarcely be obtained from the money-changer's table for thirty, without the trouble and expense of several days duration and tedious expectation'⁴.

Matthew Paris could at times be tedious and could write tendentiously and it has been said of him too with some cogency that he 'strongly disapproved of the activities of government except that of hanging thieves'. Nevertheless his remarks should not be dismissed

¹ *Cal. Docs. Irel.*, 1285-92, No. 42, p. 24.

² Fulburn retained his office of Justiciar and was pardoned his arrears subject to bond. In 1286 he was translated to the archbishopric of Tuam and died two years later. Cf. G. H. Orpen, *Ireland under the Normans*, iv (1920) and see various entries relating to the Fulburn 'affair' in *Cal. Docs. Irel.*, 1285-92.

³ See Note 1, p. 77. De Statu Cambiorum Dublinie et Waterford . . . Postmodum defensa veteri moneta in totum eieri fecit novam monetam qui vocabatur Scaldingenses seu moneta episcopus vel Stephenigenses a nomine episcopi pro qua apertebat totam veterem monetam parvam et totam venire ad cambium et sic lucrum in finitum. De lucro istorum

nichil invenientur . . . Et si non esset aliud nisi de tali cambium posset quas sui sine ditari. Item de recepta parve monete per pondus cum dealbatione . . . et per illam parvam loco magne et bone posset quis ditari. Et fec pot sciri quid recipitur sit et quid non sit nec quid solvitur sit nec quid non sit. Item in scaccariis modo in cameris modo hic et ibi non solvendum in recip.

The translations in the text are taken from the somewhat garbled versions in the Calendars.

⁴ For the Latin text of Mathew Paris see *Chronica Majora* (ed. Luard, Rolls Series, 1880), v. pp. 18-19.

as prejudiced monkish chit-chat. It is patently obvious both from what he has to say and also from the Fulburn inquiry that recoinages did bring hardship and loss to the public and were consequently generally unpopular. Recoinages were also complex administrative operations, hedged with difficulties, which were not to be embarked upon lightly. To the writer, at least, this points to a probable reason for the continuation of coin types into new reigns and the apparent fossilisation of some series for several generations after the introduction of a 'type immobilisé' on continental lines by Henry II in 1158. A detailed examination of the subject of recoinage in the middle ages is urgently needed but while the writer's argument is conjectural it does serve to explain why, in 1276, four years after Edward I's reign began and twenty-two years after Ireland had been assigned to him Richard Olof started to strike a new series of Anglo-Irish pennies in the name of Henry III.

A FOURTEENTH-CENTURY DEPOSIT FROM HULL

By D. M. METCALF

A NOTE in the hand-writing of L. A. Lawrence, kindly made available to me by Mr. Blunt, describes a group of coins 'found many years ago at Hull during the construction of docks'. They were as follows:

- 1-18. 'Sterling' type, full-faced bust. Obv. EDWARDENSIS REX Rev. CIVITAS LONDON. All 18 coins were from the same pair of dies. 10.7, 10.3, 9.6, 9.3 (2), 8.3 (2), 8.2, 7.5 (2), 7.4, 7.0, 6.9 (2), 6.8, 6.4, 5.9, 5.8 gr.
19. Similar, with rev. inscription, MON(ETA) . . . CES. Lawrence writes, 'I think the coin of MARCES has the obv. from the same die as the coins reading CIVITAS LONDON.' 6.6 gr.

We have to do, evidently, with coins struck in imitation of Edward pence, or rather half-pence; and, Lawrence noted, 'struck by John the Blind'. In this he was perhaps thinking of a paragraph in Chautard's *Type Esterlin*, which proposes to attribute a rare billon coin reading MONETA NARCH' to a mint at Marche-en-Famène, in Luxemburg.¹ Another manuscript note records that in 1936 or thereabouts C. A. Whitton had a couple of 'Marche halfpennies'. At a meeting of the Society on 27 February 1946 he exhibited 2 coins corresponding with nos. 1-18 and 19 above respectively and firmly stated to be from the same obverse die².

A note on the discovery of the deposit was published by M. Kitson Clark, who quotes a letter written to her in 1931 by T. Sheppard, the Curator of the Hull Museum: 'I have no evidence of [Roman coins in a vase having been found at Hull] whatever. We merely have a record in one of the old Hull newspapers that such a find was made in Hull a century ago. At the same time in a creek which was excavated when making one of the Hull docks a large number of imitation coins of John the Blind were found, some of which were given to the Museum. I should not be at all surprised if this is not the hoard referred to, as Roman was the name given a century ago to almost anything ancient. The vase [is Roman].'³ Mr. J. Bartlett, the present Director of the Hull Museums, has kindly confirmed that all the post-Roman coins and all the records were lost—and doubtless destroyed—when the Albion Street Museum was bombed in 1943.⁴

It had, perhaps, escaped Sheppard's memory that he had, five years previously, edited a note giving details which, in view of the lapse of time—the discovery was said to have been made 'a little over a century ago' in 1907,⁵—are curious but appear to be circumstantial enough:

Old inhabitants of Hull may remember the discovery many years ago of a collection of small silver coins, which were then considered to be forgeries. They were found during the construction of the Albert Dock, and some of them were for sale in an old coin dealer's shop which then existed in Mytongate. A description appeared in more than one local work dealing with the history of Hull, and they were considered to be imitation Edward I pennies. Through the kindness of Mr F. W. Harness, of Wainfleet, one of them has been

¹ J. Chautard, *Imitations des monnaies au type esterlin frappées en Europe pendant le XIII^e et le XIV^e siècle*, Nancy, 1871, pp. 109 and 385 and plate XIV, 4.

² *BNJ* xxv (1945-48), 90.

³ M. Kitson Clark, *A Gazetteer of Roman Remains in East Yorkshire* (= Roman Malton and District, Report no. 5), Leeds, 1935, p. 93. I listed the deposit

summarily in 'Some Finds of Medieval Coins from Scotland and the North of England', *BNJ* xxx (1961), 88-123, as no. 20.

⁴ In a letter dated 7 September 1964.

⁵ T. Sheppard, 'Notes on the More Important Archaeological Discoveries in East Yorkshire', *The Transactions of the East Riding Antiquarian Society*, xiv (1907), 60.

presented to [the East Riding Antiquarian Society], and it appears the coin is not a forgery, but a demi-sterling of John the Blind (1309–1346), of Luxemburg. These coins were struck in base metal, in imitation of the English coins. These are what are met with in contemporary records under the name of 'Lussbeburgs'.¹

The mention of the Albert Dock is apparently an error. Hull's first modern dock was built under an Act of Parliament of 1774 and completed in 1778. The next was the Humber Dock, which was opened in 1809. The Junction Dock, between the two, was made in 1829. Then came the Railway Dock (1846), the Ferry Boat Dock (1847), and the Victoria Dock (1850).² The Junction Dock was at a later date known as Princes Dock. The Albert Dock was too late a construction to be the source of the hoard of coins. There is no reason to doubt that it is the Humber Dock which is in question; Sheppard's reference to the excavation of a creek (culled from a newspaper paragraph entitled: 'A Hundred Years Ago'?—I have not pursued this) fits in with such an interpretation.³

Six coins, perhaps from among those that were on sale to the public, have found their way into the collections of the British Museum. Three were presented by a Mr. Locking in 1868. Two, including a *MONETA . . . ES*, were obtained from a Mr. S. Smith in 1907 (and one of these is ticketed 21/2/1888). The sixth piece came from Lincoln's in 1902. The striking is often defective, but all six seem to be from the same obverse die, and the five *CIVITAS LONDON* coins from the same reverse die. Three specimens (marked with an asterisk) are illustrated in the accompanying enlarged photographs. The weights of the coins are:

1. 13.4 gr. Locking, 1868.

*4. 8.9 gr. Lincoln, 1902.

2. 9.2 gr. Locking, 1868.

5. 9.0 gr. S. Smith, 1907.

*3. 7.3 gr. Locking, 1868.

*6. 9.6 gr. S. Smith, 1907.



¹ T. Sheppard, 'Local Archaeological Notes', *TERAS* xxv (1926), 1–51, at p. 31.

² See *The Stranger's Guide, or Hand Book to the Port of Hull*, London and Hull, 1852, pp. 27–33.

³ Another point which some local historian may be able to resolve: whether there is any connexion

between the old coin dealer's shop in Mytongate and 'Wallis's Museum' ('the late Mr. G. Wallis, gunsmith, in myton-gate. It is intended very soon to be opened for public exhibition'—*A Modern Delineation of the Town and Port of Kingston upon Hull*, Hull, 1805, p. 56.)

It will be seen that they are in good style, and that they might belong to the first half of the fourteenth century. The lettering is rather large for half-pence. The unbroken inner circle on the obverse, and the crown with only three, instead of five, projections, mark them as of irregular workmanship. The average weight is low, but not too obviously so. The alloy remains undetermined.

The attribution of these coins to Luxemburg rests upon the slenderest evidence. It would be more plausible, considering that Hull was a sufficiently important place to have a mint of its own for the re-coinage of 1300, to interpret them as the work of a local forger.

It may not be out of place to mention the few other finds of medieval coins that are on record from Hull and its vicinity. The most unusual is a gold florin from the Dauphiné, struck by Guigues VIII (1319-33). It was found on the beach at Easington in 1902.¹ A noble, of the pre-treaty period, was found in Hull²; and a treaty half-noble was found at Bridlington.³ Vertue's puzzling gold piece is the only other item of note.⁴

¹ See *Hull Museum Publications* no. 12, 1902, p. 14.

² *Ibid* no. 42, 1907, pp. 9ff.

³ *Ibid*. no. 88, 1912, p. 8.

⁴ *BNJ*, xxx, p. 110, no. 109; *Trans. Yorks Num. Soc.*, 2nd series, ii (1964), p. 18, where suggestion is made that the coin is a Merovingian tremissis from Rodez.

THE 1961 FIND OF FOURTEENTH-CENTURY SILVER COINS FROM MAREHAM-LE-FEN IN LINCOLNSHIRE

By R. H. M. DOLLEY

ON October 9th 1961, a labourer digging a trench for a sewer at The Green in the village of Mareham-le-Fen in southern Lincolnshire came across a *rouleau* of 34 mediaeval silver coins. He promptly reported his discovery, and, at an inquest held at Mareham-le-Fen on March 6th, 1962, the coins were duly declared treasure trove, the finder receiving the full market value of the coins as the customary *ex gratia* reward from the Crown. The writer attended the inquest and has no reason not to believe that the 34 coins surrendered and here described represented the whole of the hoard, nor that there was any trace of a pottery or metal container. Presumably the coins had been wrapped in a screw of cloth or parchment which had rotted completely away. The 33 English coins, all of them of Edward III's fourth ('pre-treaty') coinage can be listed in tabular fashion as follows:—

GROATS

MINT OF LONDON

Lawrence Class ¹	Fleurs over crown	C	E	Letter-forms ²				Weight (Troy)
				M	N	R	V	
(1) B	+	1/1	Open	Rom	N/N*	1/1	2	69.1 gr.
(2) C	—	2/1	Closed	1	11/N	1/1	2	59.8
(3) C	—	?/1	„	1	N/N*	1/1	2	66.4
(4) C	—	2/1	„	1	N/N*	1/1	2	69.2
(5) C	+ (?)	2/1	„	1	N/N*	1/1	2	69.8
(6) C	+	2/1	„	1	N/N*	1/1	2	70.7
(7) D	—	3/3	„	1	11/11	2/2	2	70.8
(8) D	—	3/3	„	1	11/11	2/2	2 ?	67.6
(9) D	—	3/3	„	1	11/11	2/2	2	67.3
(10) E	—	3/3	„	1	11/11	4/4	3	70.6
(11) E	—	3/3	„	1	11/11	4/4	3	70.1
(12) E	—	3/3	„	1	11/11	4/4	3	69.0
(13) E	—	3/3	„	1	N/N*	4/?	3	70.9
(14) E	—	3/3	„	1	11/11	?/4	3	64.7
(15) E	—	3/3	„	1	11/11	4/4	3	68.5
(16) E	—	3/3	„	1	N/N*	4/?	3	68.6
(17) E—lis on breast	—	3/3	„	1	11/11	4/4	3	69.7
(18) E	—	3/3	„	1	11/11	4/4	3	68.3
(19) E/G	—	3/4	Broken	1	11/11	4/5	4	69.5
(20) E/F—lis on cusps, fleur on breast	—	3/3	Closed	2	11/11	5/5	4	69.6
(21) F	—	3/3	„	2	11/11	5/5	4	67.9

*All N's are reverse-barred.

¹ Cf. NC 1926, pp. 417–469 and papers in continuation.

² Cf. NC 1960, pp. 137–181 and especially p. 145.

MINT OF LONDON (cont.)

Lawrence Class ¹	Fleurs over crown	C	E	Letter-forms ²		R	V	Weight (Troy)
				M	N			
(22) Ga/E—annulet below breast	+	3/3	„	2	N/11	5/4	3	70.6 gr.
(23) Ga	+	5/5	„	2	N/N	5/5	4	68.1
(24) Ga	—	5/5	„	2	N/N	5/5	4	68.7
(25) Gb	—	5/5	„	2	11/11	5/5	4	65.9
(26) Gb	—	5/5	„	2	11/11	5/5	4	68.8

MINT OF YORK

(27) E	—	3/3	Closed	1	N/—	4/4	2 ?	72.0
--------	---	-----	--------	---	-----	-----	-----	------

HALF-GROATS

MINT OF LONDON

(28) C	—	2/2	Closed	1	N/N*	1/1	2	35.1
(29) C	—	2/2	„	1	N/N*	1/1	2	30.5
(30) C	—	2/2	„	1	N/N*	1/1	2	30.7
(31) C	+	2/2	„	1	N/N*	1/1	2	35.1
(32) Gb/Ga	—	5/5	„	2	N/N*	5/5	4	34.3

MINT OF YORK

(33) E	—	3/3	„	1	11/—	4/4	2	Broken
--------	---	-----	---	---	------	-----	---	--------

*All N's are reverse-barred except on the obverses of nos. 22, 23 and 27 and the reverse of no. 23.

The coins are all illustrated on the accompanying plates, where the numeration is preserved, the London groats 1-17 appearing on *Plate III*, and the London and York groats 18-27 and half-groats 28-33 on *Plate IV*. Attention may be drawn to the following details. On the London groats 1-6 there occur the following variations in the second element of the obverse legend:—

(1) D'°GRA (2) D'° G (3) DI'° G (4) D'° G (5) DEI° G (6) DI° G.

On the London groat 21 in the obverse legend 'E' takes the form of 'C'. On groats 23 and 24 and on half-groat 32 there is an annulet in the second quarter of the reverse, and on groat 26 an annulet in the first quarter. The great rarity is, of course, the London groat 22 which is an unpublished and to some extent unexpected mule between non-consecutive Lawrence classes.

The thirty-fourth coin in the hoard is an Edinburgh groat of David II. Mr. B. H. I. H. Stewart has been kind enough to examine it, and has identified it as D1/D3 by his classification, though he feels it may be a legitimate variety in its own right rather than a mule (*Plate IV*, 34). The weight is exactly 66.0 grains. It is the occurrence of this Scottish coin beside the 33 English coins that gives the Mareham-le-Fen hoard its special interest and importance, and in another paper Mr. Stewart will be discussing the whole

¹ Cf. *NC* 1926, pp. 417-469 and papers in continuation.

² Cf. *NC* 1960, pp. 137-181 and especially p. 145.

problem from the point of view of the Scottish numismatist. Here it is sufficient perhaps to indicate the difficulty in general terms. In theory at least it is the Scottish coin which should be dated by the English, but the 33 English coins would seem all to fall within the date-bracket 1351–1358, while the single Scottish coin not only is by no means the earliest piece in a series which did not begin until 1357, but might reasonably be expected to have been struck nearer to 1365 than 1360.

The handling of the Scottish evidence is beyond the competence of the present writer, but he would like to suggest one way in which the discrepancy of date may be reduced if not completely resolved. This is by drawing attention to an internal discrepancy hitherto unremarked in the composition of the English element in two nineteenth-century finds from Cumberland, the minor hoard discovered c. 1845 at Sandsfield (*Inventory* 321) and the major one which came to light in 1884 at Beaumont (*Inventory* 38). To take first the Sandsfield find, Mr. J. D. A. Thompson has analysed as follows the 1885 *Numismatic Chronicle* account of a parcel of nine coins:—

Edward I—London: pennies, 3. York: penny, 1. Edward III—London: groats, 2; half-groat, 1; penny, 1. Durham: penny, 1.

On this basis he has suggested concealment 'after 1344'—a date, however, which would seem a whole decade too early in view of the admitted presence of English coins which we know not to have been struck before 1351. In *Appendix A* of this paper, on the other hand, there will be found listed the actual nine coins inspected by Ferguson and Keary in 1885, and it will be seen that these new identifications based on the Lawrence classification are very different as well as being far more precise. Significant here is the fact that the later of the English groats is of Lawrence Class Ga whereas the three Edward III pennies include one certainly of Class Gd and one which is probably as late as Class Gg. In other words there would seem to have been a time-lag amounting to something like three years before the London-struck groat found its way into circulation in northern England where it rubbed shoulders with brand-new pennies put out by local ecclesiastical mints, the groat and half-groat having ceased to be struck when the royal establishment at York Castle was closed in 1355.

It must be stressed, however, that the Sandsfield parcel could be deemed too small to be considered a representative sample in its own right, and it is here that the much larger and considerably better recorded Beaumont hoard is so useful. Even from the abridged summary that appears in the *Inventory* there is an obvious discrepancy between the presence of a solitary London groat of Lawrence Class G and no fewer than 66 Durham pennies assigned to the same class, and examination of the Ferguson and Keary report suggests very strongly that the groat was of Class Ga or Gb but a proportion at least of the Durham pence as late as Class Gg. Nine coins from the hoard are in the British Museum and no fewer than 47 in the Carlisle Museum, and a collated description of the two parcels is given in *Appendix B*. The picture of the hoard which there emerges more than bears out the tentative conclusion already arrived at on the basis of the little parcel from Sandsfield. The latest groat, it will be noticed, is an F/G mule probably contemporary in date with the solitary Ga or Gb groat recorded by Keary and so unlikely to have been struck much after 1357, whereas the handful of Durham and York pennies is found to include specimens of the so-called 'transitional' issues which cannot well be dated before 1361.

It would seem, then, that London groats—and half-groats—moved northwards rather more slowly than the numismatist might have imagined, so that if the Beaumont hoard had lacked its pennies it might very well have been dated 'c.1357' instead of 'c.1362'—the

Inventory dating is a year or two on the early side in view of the presence of the 'transitional' pennies already remarked. In the same way, if the Mareham-le-Fen hoard had had a penny element, there seems no good reason why such pennies should not have extended at least as late as class Gg, and especially if we suppose that the find represents the 'wallet' of a traveller coming from northern England¹, his 'purse' with all his pennies and halfpennies if lost having still to be found. On this telling a date 'c.1360' for the Mareham-le-Fen hoard would seem very reasonable, and it is the opinion of the writer that the estimate here hazarded is one unlikely to be out by more than a year or two. For a future edition of the *Inventory*, then, the hoard may be summarized somewhat as follows:—

MAREHAM-LE-FEN, Lincolnshire, 9 Oct. 1961.

34 AR English and Scottish. No Container. Deposit: c. 1360. ENGLAND (33): Edward III: *coinage of 1351-61*—*London*, groats, Lawrence cl.B, 1; cl.C, 5; cl.D, 3; cl.E, 9; cl.E/F mule, 1; cl. F, 1; cl.E/G mule, 1; cl.Ga/E mule, 1; cl.Ga, 2; cl.Gb, 2: half-groats, Lawrence cl.C, 4; cl.Gb/Ga mule, 1. *York*, groat, Lawrence cl.E, 1: half-groat, Lawrence cl.E, 1. SCOTLAND (1): David II: *second coinage*—*Edinburgh*, groat, Stewart D1/D3 mule, 1.

R.H.M. Dolley in *BNJ XXXIII* (1964), pp. 83-89.

Disposition: 3 coins are in the British Museum and the remainder in the Museum at Lincoln.

It only remains for the writer to express his thanks to Messrs. W. J. W. Potter and B. H. I. H. Stewart, M.A., F.S.A. (Scot.), for their assistance with the classification of the coins, and to Mr. E. Blezard, F.Z.S., M.B.O.U., of the Carlisle Museum who so kindly made available the parcels from the Beaumont and Sandsfield hoards which are listed below.

APPENDIX A

THE CARLISLE MUSEUM PARCEL OF ENGLISH COINS FROM THE 1845 SANDSFIELD FIND

EDWARD I		
<i>Mint of London</i>		
(1) Penny, Fox cl. IVc (?)		15.7 grains
<i>Royal Mint of York</i>		
(2) Penny, Fox cl. IXb		21.4
EDWARD II		
<i>Mint of London</i>		
(3) Penny, Fox cl. XIb/XIa mule.		20.5
EDWARD III		
Coinage of 1343-1351		
<i>Mint of London</i>		
(4) Penny, cf. North 1116 (rev. I)		15.8
Coinage of 1351-1361		
<i>Mint of London</i>		
(5) Groat, Lawrence cl.C		48.7
(6) Groat, Lawrence cl.Ga		66.4
(7) Half-groat, Lawrence cl.D		19.8

¹ It should be remarked that the face value of the English coins is exactly ten shillings.

Episcopal Mint of Durham
(Bishop Hatfield)

(8) Penny, Lawrence cl.Gd 15.5

Archiepiscopal Mint of York
(Archbishop Thoresby)

(9) Penny, Lawrence cl.Gg (?) — saltire stops. 16.7

APPENDIX B

COLLATION OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM AND CARLISLE MUSEUM PARCELS OF COINS FROM
THE 1884 BEAUMONT FIND

(BM) — coin in British Museum. (C) — coin in Carlisle Museum

ENGLAND

EDWARD I

Mint of Berwick

(1) Penny, Blunt cl.IIIa 21.7 grains (BM)
(2) Penny, Blunt cl.IVa/III mule (?) 18.0 (C)
(3) Penny, Blunt cl.IVa 19.9 (C)

Mint of Bristol

(4) Penny, Fox cl.IIIb 17.7 (C)
(5, 6) Pennies, Fox cl.IXb 21.1 (C), 21.0 (C)

Mint of Canterbury

(7) Penny, Fox cl.IIIc/o mule 20.1 (C)
(8) Penny, Fox cl.IVd 21.3 (C)
(9) Penny, Fox cl.Xa (?) 21.1 (C)

Mint of Chester

(10) Penny, Fox cl.IXb 19.7 (BM)

Episcopal Mint of Durham
(Bishop de Insula)

(11) Penny, Fox cl.IIIe 16.6 (C)
(12) Penny, Fox cl.IIIg 18.7 (C)

Mint of Lincoln

(13) Penny, Fox cl.IIIe 21.7
(14) Penny, Fox cl.IIIg 19.3 (C)

Mint of London

(15, 16) Pennies, Fox cl.Ic 22.2 (C), 17.8 (C)
(17) Penny, Fox cl.II/III mule 15.5 (C)
(18) Penny, Fox cl.Xa/IXb mule 21.0 (C)
(19) Penny, Fox cl.Xa 21.1 (C)
(20) Penny, Fox cl.Xb 20.1 (C)

Mint of Newcastle

(21) Penny, Fox cl.IIIId 21.2 (C)
(22, 23) Pennies, Fox cl.IXb 21.6 (BM), 19.9 (C)

Archiepiscopal Mint of York

(Archbishop Wickwane)

(24, 25) Pennies, Fox cl.IIIId 21.2 (BM), 17.8 (C)

Royal Mint of York

(26) Penny, Fox cl.IIIId 20.0 (C)

EDWARD I OR EDWARD II

Abbatial Mint of Bury St. Edmunds

(Abbot Thomas of Totyngton)

(27) Penny, Fox cl.Xc-f 21.6 (C)

Episcopal Mint of Durham

(Bishop Bek)

(28-30) Pennies, Fox cl.Xc-f 19.5 (C), 18.9 (BM)
17.3 (C)

EDWARD II

Mint of Canterbury

(31) Penny, Fox cl.XIa 17.0 (C)

(32) Penny, Fox cl.XIb 21.5 (C)

(33) Penny, Fox cl.XII 20.8 (C)

Mint of London

(34) Penny, Fox cl.XVe (?) 21.2 (C)

EDWARD III

Episcopal Mint of Durham

(Bishop Hatfield)

(35) Penny, 'Pre-Treaty', Lawrence cl.C 17.4 (C)

(36) Penny, 'Pre-Treaty', Lawrence cl.E 16.8 (C)

(37) Penny, 'Pre-Treaty', Lawrence cl.Gg 17.2 (C)

(38) Penny, 'Transitional', *cf.* Lawrence, *op.cit.*, 18.1 (C)p. 192 — variety without annulets by *i.m.* (?)*Mint of London*

(39) Groat, 'Pre-Treaty', Lawrence cl.H/G mule 71.2 (BM)

(40) Half-groat, 'Pre-Treaty', Lawrence cl.D 35.3 (C)

(41, 42) Pennies, 'Florin', *cf.* North 1116 18.6 (C), 16.2 (C)*Royal Mint of York*

(43) Groat, 'Pre-Treaty', Lawrence cl.E 73.4 (C)

(44, 45) Half-groats, 'Pre-Treaty', Lawrence cl.E — lis on breast 36.6 (C), 34.5 (BM)

(46) Half-groat, 'Pre-Treaty', Lawrence cl.E — no lis on breast 35.5 (C)

Archiepiscopal Mint of York

(Archbishop Thoresby)

(47) Penny, 'Pre-Treaty', Lawrence cl.Gf 17.4 (C)

(48) Penny, 'Transitional', *cf.* Lawrence, *op.cit.*, p. 192. 17.4 (C)

I R E L A N D

EDWARD I

Mint of Dublin

(49) Penny, Dolley cl.III/II mule 18.9 (C)

Uncertain Forgery

(50) Penny, 'London/Dublin' mule 18.6 (BM)

S C O T L A N D

ALEXANDER III

(51) Penny, second coinage, Stewart cl.II
(2 mullets of 6 points, 2 stars of 7 points) 20.0 (C)

ROBERT I

(52) Penny, *cf.* Stewart no. 40 18.6 (BM)

DAVID II

(53) Groat, second coinage, Stewart cl.C.2 63.2 (C)

(54) Half-groat, second coinage, Stewart cl.A 35.8 (C)

(55, 56) Pennies, first coinage, Stewart cl.II 18.3 (C), 16.5 (C)



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



12



13



14



15

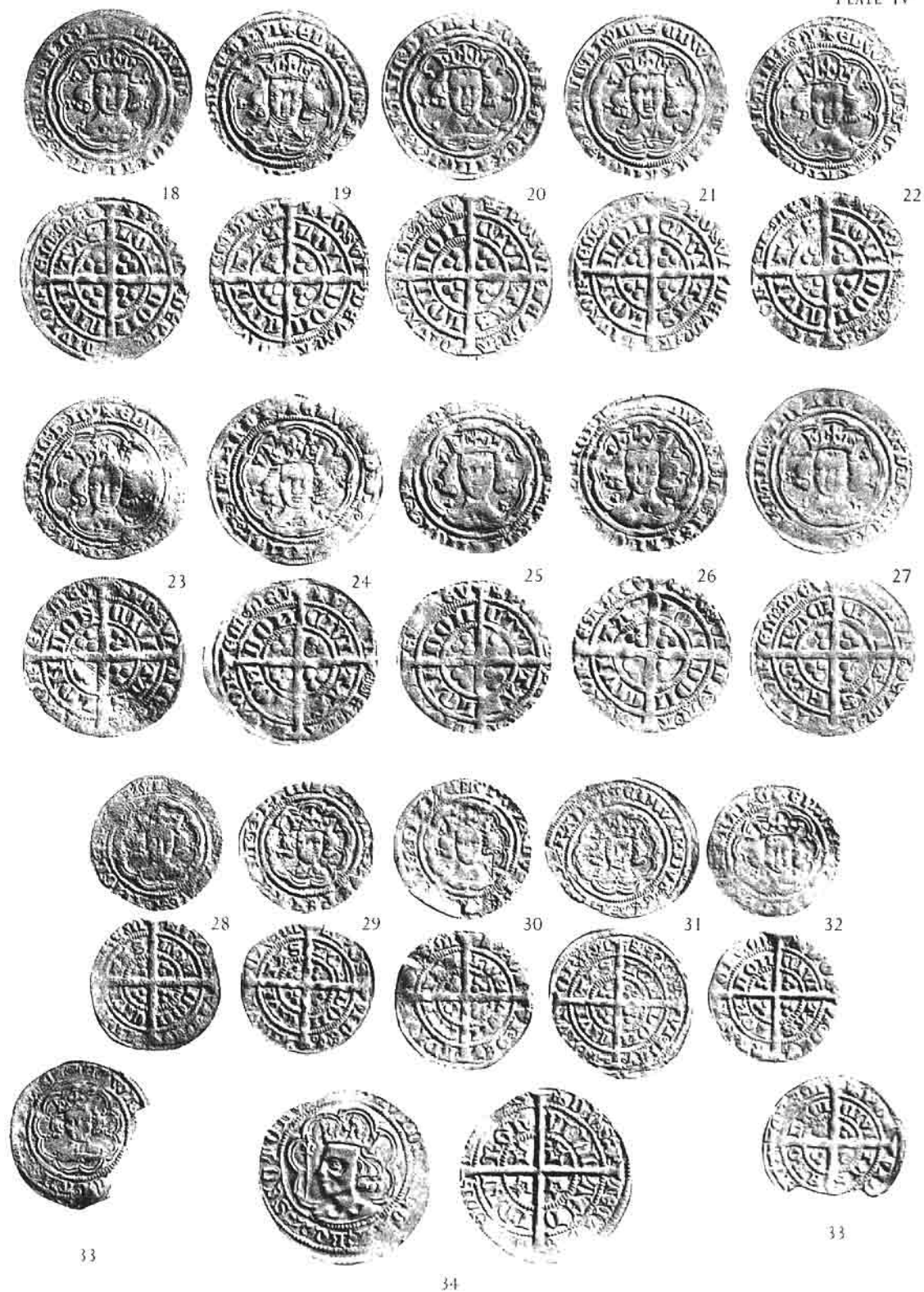


16



17





TWO NEGLECTED NORTHUMBRIAN HOARDS OF LATE 14TH-CENTURY GOLD COINS

By R. H. M. DOLLEY

THE purpose of this note is to draw attention to one notable omission from the recent *Inventory*, the 1834 hoard from Brinkburn Priory, and also to suggest that in some future edition that work's account of another Northumbrian find, the 1775 hoard from Fenwick, should be amended in more than one particular. Brinkburn and Fenwick are only a very few miles apart, and re-examination of the evidence suggests that there is a distinct possibility that the two hoards might have been concealed on the same occasion. To take first the earlier discovery from Fenwick (*Inventory* 159), the writer is indebted to his friend and former colleague Mrs. J. S. Martin for a reference to pp. 349 and 350 of Vol. XII of the magisterial fifteen-volume *History of Northumberland* which a succession of local historians and antiquaries saw through the press between 1893 and 1940. From the account there given the following additional facts emerge:—

- (a) The discovery was made on or about 10th June, 1775.
- (b) The precise find-spot was beneath the flagged floor of an upper room at Fenwick Tower.
- (c) The total number of coins recovered was not 224 but 226.
- (d) The coins, all of them nobles, lay in *rouleaux* packed around with sand.
- (e) The coins, though predominantly of Edward III, also included some of Richard II and at least one of David II.
- (f) Certain pieces passed to the Hunterian Museum.

The importance of this supplementary information can scarcely be exaggerated. For the first time the numismatist is given confirmation of a hoard-provenance and find-spot for the extremely rare noble of David II—and the writer's opinion is that one day the same provenance will be shown to attach to the British Museum specimen—while the date of deposit suggested in the *Inventory*, and only slightly modified in a recent paper in this *Journal*, must be adjusted by as much as forty if not fifty years.¹ It is suggested, then, that the revised *Inventory* summary of the find might run somewhat as follows:—

159. FENWICK TOWER, Northumberland, 10 (?) June, 1775.

226 (+ ?) av English and Scottish. Deposit: c. 1385 ± 5.

ENGLAND — Edward III: nobles, classes not specified, bulk of hoard. Richard II: nobles, classes and number not specified. SCOTLAND — David II: noble, Burns Fig. 285, 1 (+ ?).

Note in *A*, v(1778), pp. 166–8; *History of Northumberland*, XII, pp. 349 and 350 and works there cited; D. M. Metcalf in *BNJ* XXX, 1 (1960), p. 122; R. H. M. Dolley in *BNJ* XXXIII (1964), pp. 90–1; Fitzwilliam MSS. (deposited with Mr. A. H. F. Baldwin), letter dated 8th March 1776 from Blackett to the Marquis of Rockingham; BM Add. MSS. 27423, f. 251.

Disposition: 119 coins originally in possession of Sir Walter Blackett of Wallington; a number, including David II noble, passed to Hunter. There was no container, and there is a possibility that other coins(? several hundreds) were abstracted by William Cook's workmates.

¹ *BNJ* xxx, 1 (1960) p. 122.

It should be stressed, though, that even this modified account has no pretensions to finality, and the present writer is convinced that much remains to be extracted from the above-cited authorities by a specialist in the series who finds an opportunity to visit Glasgow and Newcastle as well as the British Museum, and who has the patience to work through the whole of the documentary material and to collate it with the unprovenanced coins in the Hunter and British Museum trays.

Almost sixty years after the discovery at Fenwick Tower, a hoard of the same date came to light at Brinkburn Priory. Again the writer is indebted to Mrs. Martin for some early references to the discovery. In Mr. Matthew Young's grangerized copy of Snelling's works, one of the treasures of the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum, there occurs the following note:—

‘Nov. 15 1834

Mr. Stewart brought 5 Richard II Nobles and one of Edward III said to have been found at Brentbourne [*sic*] Priory Northumberland where several others both halves and quarters it is said were found at the same time.’

A more substantial account of the discovery, and one less coloured by a London dealer's very natural pre-occupation with rarity, appears on p. 636b of the December number of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1834. It runs as follows:—

‘Some workmen, forming a new road near Brinkburn Priory, near Newcastle, lately discovered a small brass pot, containing several gold coins, rose nobles [*sic*] of the first and second [*sic*] coinage of Edward III, and some half and quarter nobles of the same reign, all in perfect state of preservation. The pot and coins are now in the possession of Major Hodgson Cadogan, of Brinkburn.’

For the fullest printed account of the hoard, however, we must turn once more to the fifteen-volume *History of Northumberland* to which allusion has already been made. On pp. 458 and 459 of Vol VII there will be found the following passage which draws on family traditions as well as the 1834 *Gentleman's Magazine* and a brief reference in Vol. XII of the *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club*:—

‘On July 25th, 1834, in removing the debris of a burned wooden building which stood near the offices of the house [i.e. Brinkburn Priory] and a little to the north-west of the church, there was a very important find of gold coins. The hearthstone had been removed, and the man who was throwing up the earth into a cart said to the man on the cart, ‘That's the heaviest spadeful I ever threw up’, and the man on the cart, looking down, saw a pot of brass or bell metal. There were between three and four hundred coins, comprising rose nobles [*sic*] of the first and second [*sic*] coinage of Edward III, half and quarter nobles of the same reign, and nobles of Richard II. The pot and some of the coins are still at Brinkburn, in the possession of Mrs. Hugh Fenwick. The Medal Room at the British Museum was enriched, by the gift of Major Cadogan, with specimens of the coins not before then in the collection; others were given away and some disposed of.’

Unfortunately it was not until 1838 that the British Museum began its systematic registration of its acquisitions, and the writer has failed in his attempt to identify particular coins as the gift of Major Cadogan. It is notable, however, that a number of pieces of the period would seem to have been acquired in the 1830's, and one wonders whether in some cases the ultimate provenance of certain purchases made may not also have been the Brinkburn find. A complicating factor, however, is the circumstance that at Glasgow Cathedral in 1837 there was discovered a major hoard of roughly the same period (*Inventory* 172 but the date ‘c 1380’ there suggested must be too early as the hoard contained lions (‘St. Andrews’) of Robert III

(1390-1406)), though in the case of Brinkburn a check on old tickets and on coins actually in the National Collection would suggest that no attempt was made to impose on Major Cadogan's generosity by the Museum seeking to acquire die-varieties. Indeed, it is unlikely that the selection went even as far as the acquisition of coins to represent the main classes later distinguished by Lawrence.

By a fortunate chance, however, the writer is able to illustrate a parcel of coins from the hoard, and also the container. In 1961 Dr. Peter Fenwick left with him at the British Museum for the purposes of study a total of nine pieces to which there attaches the Brinkburn provenance. They are all illustrated on *Pl. II*. The Lawrence classes can be gathered from the summary listing that concludes this note, but at this point we may record the weights. The four London nobles [*Pl. II*, 1-4] weigh 118.2, 119.4, 118.2 and 119.2 grains respectively, and the Calais noble [*Pl. II*, 5] 117.7 grains. No less consistent are the weights of the London half-nobles [*Pl. II*, 7-9] which tip the scale at 58.2, 57.5 and 57.7 grains respectively, while the quarter-noble from the same mint [*Pl. II*, 6] weighs 29.1 grains. The brass pot which Dr. Fenwick borrowed from a relative is of a form which cannot be exactly paralleled on the plates appended to the *Inventory*, and for the carefully drawn section which is appended (*Fig. 1*) the writer is indebted to his former colleague Dr. J. P. C. Kent.

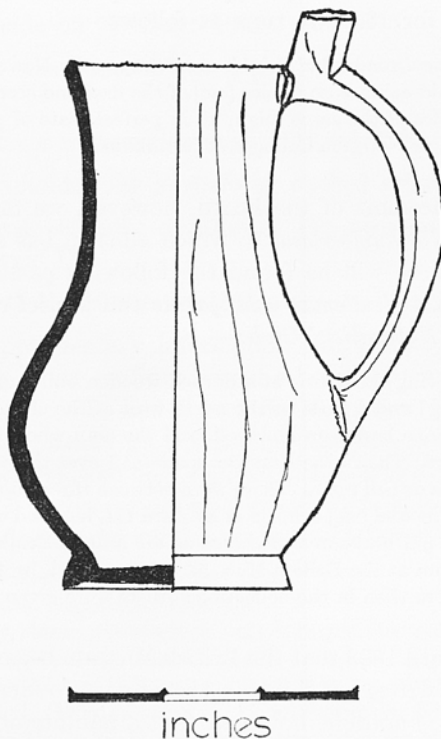


FIG. 1

It stands exactly six inches high, and in its lines and execution alike it does every credit to some anonymous late fourteenth-century craftsman.

It is clear from all this that the bulk of the 1834 hoard from Brinkburn Priory consisted of coins of Edward III. Thanks to Young, however, we can be quite certain that there were also present nobles of Richard II, and so the date of the hoard's concealment should fall somewhere in the last quarter of the fourteenth century. Obviously Dr. Fenwick's parcel is not representative of the whole find, and it was perhaps inevitable that the family's dwindling selection should have been culled for rarities by discriminating and importunate visitors down the years, but the fact that seven of the nine survivors should belong to Edward's sixth or penultimate coinage would seem to indicate that from the first 'Treaty' coins were in the majority. On this evidence, though, it is unusually difficult to indicate a probable occasion for the hoard's deposit, but the parallel with the hoard from Fenwick Tower which contained the David II noble but not the Robert III lion might suggest a date before rather than after 1390, though the argument could be thought weakened by the circumstance that there the hoarder seems to have eschewed all denominations other than the noble. All in all, a provisional dating *c.* 1385 \pm 5 may be thought reasonable, and the writer is satisfied that it is not likely to err by more than a very few years.

For the purposes of the second edition of the *Inventory*, then, the Brinkburn Priory find can be summarized somewhat as follows:—

BRINKBURN PRIORY, Northumberland, 25 July 1834.

Several hundred *av* English (9 described). Deposit: *c.* 1385 \pm 5. Edward III — *coinage of* 1361–1363: London, half-noble, Lawrence e.l. 1. *Coinage of* 1363–1369: London, nobles, Lawrence b.l. 3; b.3, 1; half-nobles, Lawrence b.l. 1; b.3, 1; quarter-noble, Lawrence b.l. 1. *Coinage of* 1369–1377: Calais, noble, Lawrence II.3, 1. Richard II — undescribed nobles (London and Calais ?), 6+.

GM Dec. 1834, p. 636; *History of Northumberland*, VII, pp. 458 and 459; R. H. M. Dolley in *BNJ* XXXIII (1964), pp. 90–3.

Disposition: 9 of the coins and the brass pot in which they were found now in separate private ownership. Others of the coins are believed to have been presented to the British Museum, but cannot now be distinguished.

It only remains for the writer to express once more his obligations to those who have made possible the writing of this note, and to urge upon those specializing in the later mediaeval coinages of England the desirability of an early re-appraisal of the hoard-evidence. Twelve years in the Coin Room at the British Museum have satisfied him of the latent significance of what at first sight may seem hopelessly fragmentary evidence preserved in the trays and registers, and it is his opinion that the outstanding problems presented by the coinages of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries will never be solved solely on the basis of such minutiae as letter-forms. A broader view has become necessary, and, in the absence of new hoards, it is more than ever essential that due weight should now be given to the testimony of finds now dispersed but for which there exists some partial record, unpromising and untractable though this material may seem in comparison with the detailed listings of new finds that have become a feature of the *British Numismatic Journal*—at least where mediaeval series are concerned.

A FOURTEENTH CENTURY HOARD OF SCOTTISH GROATS FROM BALLENY TOWNLAND CO. DOWN

By W. A. SEABY AND B. H. I. H. STEWART

The Discovery

IN late August, 1962, during the laying of a pipeline along the west side of the lane running from Barronstown to Dromore (part of a new scheme being carried out by the Portadown and Banbridge Regional Waterworks Joint Board), the workmen had occasion to blast away part of the solid rock some thirty yards south of the turning to Balleny House (Grid reference J197528). In clearing away the rubble two or three silver coins fell into the trench. The finder thereupon loosened the rock fragments by hand and a small hoard of coins came to light. The Silurian outcrops at this point to within a few inches of the ground surface, and there seems little doubt that the coin deposit had been hidden in a small hole or crevice, possibly originally in some leather or cloth container which could easily have been withdrawn when necessary.

The coins were handed round amongst the road gang, but within a few days one was brought to the Ulster Museum and another was passed to Mr. John Clarke, Superintendent of the Water Board at Banbridge. Swift action was taken and within a relatively short time thirty coins had been assembled which were then handed over to the local police, the Ministry of Finance being officially informed of the discovery. At a treasure trove inquest held at Banbridge Courthouse on 29 October, 1962, depositions were taken from the foreman, Mr. William Peters, and three of the workmen as well as others concerned in the case. Mr. A. D. Orr, Coroner for South Down, found for the Crown and the coins, consisting of nineteen groats of David II and eleven groats of Robert II, were placed in the hands of Mr. F. J. Falkiner, Assistant Secretary to the Ministry of Finance, acting as agent for the British Treasury¹. Later a reward was paid to the finder, Mr. James Brown, of Rathfriland, and the hoard was handed over to the Ulster Museum, Stranmillis, Belfast.

Significance of the hoard

It is not possible to estimate with any accuracy when the Balleny hoard was deposited. At present there are few fixed points in the numismatic chronology of Robert II's reign, and the classification of the coins is not yet sufficiently detailed to determine how early or late in the series individual varieties were struck. The proportion of Robert to David groats is low enough to suggest an early date, especially since two at least of the Robert groats are of varieties closely akin to late issues of David. The Perth mint had already been coining on a very large scale by 1373². The parcel of groats from Balleny may therefore have been gathered quite early in Robert II's reign, perhaps not later than 1375; though less well struck than the David groats, those of Robert do not exhibit any signs of wear. The date of the deposit and loss of the hoard in Ireland cannot be directly related to the date of the removal of the coins from circulation in Scotland, though it was probably not very long afterwards.

¹ Inquest recorded in *Belfast News Letter*, 30.10.1962; *Belfast Telegraph*, 30.10.1962; *Banbridge Chronicle* (fullest), 2.11.1962.

² R. W. Cochran-Patrick, *Records of the Coinage of Scotland* (Edinburgh 1876), p. 9.

Unfortunately we cannot be certain that every coin was recovered. By the very nature of the discovery some coins may have been overlooked in the debris. Furthermore, in spite of the findings at the inquest, when it was officially held that only thirty coins came to light, one of the writers heard in the first instance that between thirty and forty pieces had been found, so that a few coins may have been dispersed before the police inquiry. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that the groats make up a face value of ten shillings, though if the deposit was made after 1374 the value of the coins in terms of sterling had by then fallen¹.

The short period covered by the hoard, probably less than twenty years, and the build-up from a single denomination of relatively fine silver, although somewhat variable in weight, suggest that these coins represent a payment made in Scotland, possibly for military service as in the case of a mercenary. Mr. Ranald Nicholson of the Department of Scottish History, University of Edinburgh, has kindly pointed out to us that, while there is only slight evidence of magnates paying for the military service of a retinue², ten shillings could represent a daily wage of threepence for forty days, which was the recognised period of service with a Scottish 'common army' (i.e. military tenants plus all men between 16 and 60)³. Threepence a day was undoubtedly the wage of some rank, probably an ordinary footsoldier or unmounted archer, in the English army (and no doubt in Scotland as well) at this period. Record of payment in this amount is found here and there in the Controller's copy of the Wardrobe book of Richard Ferriby, Keeper of the Wardrobe, between 30 July 1334 and 31 August 1337⁴.

The Balleny hoard is comparable to other fourteenth century hoards of Scottish groats found in Ireland (see nos. iv-vii in the Appendix). It is impossible to relate them to specific events or campaigns of the period, though there was plenty of contact between the two countries. There is evidence of a good deal of confused movement between Scotland and Ireland in the 1380's, which was not apparent in the 1370's. There were Irish raids on Galloway and Scottish retaliation; and it is recorded that a group of French knights, after service in Scotland, went on a pilgrimage to Ireland.⁵ It may also be of significance to report that the Balleny find-spot is less than two furlongs due north of a small earthen fortress marked as 'Teiges Fort' on the Ordnance Survey 6-inch sheet; this lies on the top of the hill at a height of 440 feet above sea level. Many other hoards of thirteenth and fourteenth century date have been discovered in the proximity of medieval Irish earthworks⁶; this lends colour to the theory that many of the parcels of coins found here are the result of military campaigns and therefore probably represent soldiers' pay. It is always possible that private payments, such as dowries, may account for hoards found beyond the natural circulating area of the coins they contain. The number of Scottish hoards from Ireland is, however, greater than would be expected to have survived as a result of individual private payments of such a kind.

In the Appendix to this paper are listed for comparison a number of hoards containing early Scottish groats. Unfortunately it is not possible to make a schematic analysis of the hoards there listed, covering the last forty years of the fourteenth century⁷, since in many

¹ Stewart, *The Scottish Coinage* (1955), p. 35.

² *Registrum Honoris de Morton* Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh 1843), ii, p. 101, no. 129.

³ *Acts Parl. Scot.*, i, p. 147 (c. 1363); Lindsay of Pitcottie, *History and Chronicles of Scotland* (Scottish Text Society), i, p. 172.

⁴ Contained in BM Cotton MSS, Nero C. VIII.

⁵ P. F. Tytler, *History of Scotland* i (Edinburgh, 1882), pp. 343-4.

⁶ Jope and Seaby, *Ulster Journal Archaeol.* 3 xxii (1959), pp. 112-5; Metcalf *NC*, xviii (1958), p. 82, under Gilford, Co. Down.

⁷ Two later hoards, both containing light groats of Robert III, one said to have been found at Edinburgh 1846 (Thompson 153) and one in Perthshire 1822 (Lindsay p. 267), are not included here as being chronologically outside the scope of this survey.

cases too few details are known. A few generalisations can be made, however. Apart from the Fortrose hoard, which strictly speaking is outside the main period under review, all the larger hoards of 300 coins and upwards, which have some Scottish element, show a preponderance of English pieces whether the finds come from England, Ireland or Scotland. Within this date bracket the earlier the hoard, the higher the percentage of English coinage seems to be, reflecting the enormous numbers of Edwardian sterlings of the pre-groat era which remained in circulation. An average for five large hoards, where the full content is known, reveals English 94%, Scottish 4%, Irish and continental making up 2%.¹

With the smaller hoards the position is quite different and we must consider most of these 'parcels' more as pursesful of coins and as such they probably represent personal savings, travellers' cash, or payments made to individuals for a specific reason, often perhaps for military service. One or two of these deposits, such as Balleny, South Shields and Craigie are entirely, or almost entirely, composed of Scottish coins while Beulah Hill and Mareham-le-Fen have no more than the casual representation of groats from the northern kingdom that one might expect, in the normal course of events, in southern hoards.

Nearly all the larger hoards have been found in bronze vessels, and the medium-sized concealments often in earthenware jugs, pitchers or small coffers; others from Scottish and Irish regions have been in ox horns. Where purses or wrappings were employed for small savings, the leather or cloth has usually rotted away before discovery. Generally one might say that where no container has been recorded the find is a comparatively small one, but this does not preclude the use of wooden vessels which may also have disintegrated prior to recovery of the coins.

The Scottish and English hoards do not differ in any significant respect from the Irish, though there are naturally fewer Scottish coins in the English finds. Some of those from Scotland were composed, like Balleny, wholly or very largely of Scottish coins, but others had only a very small percentage of Scots groats and half groats. At least six hoards show a range of coins which probably terminates after 1357 in the reign of David II; others were buried at some stage in the reign of Robert II; and only one, composed entirely of heavy groats of Robert III, can be dated with certainty to about the end of the century.

Notes on Individual Balleny Coins

A more than usually high proportion of the individual coins from the Balleny hoard are of numismatic interest. All are illustrated on plates X and XI.

No. 1 is technically of Group A, variety 5², without ornaments in the angles of the tressure and with saltire stops. However, it may come very early in the series, perhaps even before A 1, since it has a seven arc tressure and a Gothic u in *David*, both of which appear to be experimental and early features. It is from the same obverse die as Burns fig. 254 and a coin in Mr. Stewart's Collection (S. photographs David II, pl. I¹ = Lockett photographs, pl. VI⁷⁴, ex Bearman and Pollexfen Collections).

No. 2, of Aberdeen, is from an obverse die which is recorded with two other Aberdeen reverse dies (B. fig. 255, Stewart Coll. pl. VI⁹ ex Bute lot 222; Lockett pl. VII¹¹, Stewart Coll. pl. VI¹⁰) and with an Edinburgh reverse (Lockett pl. VI⁷⁷). Two other group A obverses were used

¹ Arduin (no. ix); Montrave (no. xii); Durham No. 2 (no. xiii); Beaumont (no. xiv); Balcombe (no. xxiii).

² Classification according to Stewart, *The Scottish Coinage* and Burns, *The Coinage of Scotland* (1887).

References to coins in the Lockett collection are to photographs taken at the British Museum before the coins were dispersed; coins in the Stewart collection have been privately photographed.

at Aberdeen: one exclusively at that mint (two reverses—B.254A, S. Coll. pl. VI¹² ex MacFarlan; Lockett pl. VII¹⁰, S. Coll. pl. VI¹¹ ex Hurley); the other at Edinburgh (three reverses—B.262B, S. Coll. pl. III²; S. Coll. pl. III³ = Lockett pl. VI⁸³, ex Bearman ex Antiquaries' Duplicates lot 196; S. Coll. pl. III⁴) and at Aberdeen (Lockett pl. VII⁴¹). Die-links between the two mints also exist in group B groats, and in halfgroats of groups A and B.

No. 3, with a small *d* in the second quarter of the reverse, is from an obverse die which is coupled also with a plain reverse (B. 268), and other reverses with *d* respectively in the first (B. 271) and fourth quarters (Lockett pl. VII²⁴). Several other examples are recorded of individual group B obverse dies combined with reverses having the *d* in three or four different positions and one (*cf.* B. 280, 282A and 282B) is known with plain reverse, *d* in the second, third and fourth quarters, a saltire in the third, and a cross in the fourth. So many and varied combinations cast doubt on the theory that the use of the *d* and other marks in successive positions indicates a chronological division of issues for pyx trial purposes.¹ The reverse of no. 3 is from the same die as another group B groat with a different obverse die (S. Coll. pl. V¹¹; the obverse die is that of B. figs. 279A and 284). This is apparently the first, and as yet only, reverse die-link noted in the whole series of David II's groats; the number of reverses sometimes found with a single obverse die (as many as eight in one case, and often four or five), however, suggests either an abnormally high die-ratio or much more probably the interchanging of dies on a considerable scale.

No. 6 is from an obverse die used with five other reverses (Richardson 35; S. Coll. pl. IX⁶; pl. IX⁷=Lockett VII⁴⁸; S. Coll. pl. IX⁸, Lockett pl. VII⁵⁰; S. Coll. pl. IX⁹).

Nos. 7–10 are of a variety with ornamental *a* which was not noted by Burns, but a considerable number of dies were involved (at least ten obverses are recorded).

No. 13 reads *Dns S/lector* (instead of *P/lector*) on the reverse, an unpublished variant, probably due to accidental repetition of the previous letter.

No. 14 is an unpublished variety with two saltires after *Scotorum*. Two other examples from the same obverse die, but from different reverses, are recorded (S. Coll. pl. XIV¹ ex Bute lot 222; pl. XIV²).

No. 15 is of the scarce late group with two stars after *Dns*², but of a variant previously unrecorded with two stars also on the obverse as stops after *David* and *Scotorum*. The inscriptions are more legible on another coin from the same pair of dies (S. Coll. pl. XV⁷, ex Dakers, Bearman and Walters Colls.).

The reading *Scotoru* without the final *m*, on no. 16, does not appear to be otherwise recorded on the late groats of David II.

Nos. 20 and 21, apparently the earliest groats of Robert II in the hoard, are unpublished and of considerable interest, in that they have respectively two stars and two crosses on the reverse after *Dns*. The normal mark in this position is a cross over a crescent, of which the latter is really a contraction mark indicating that *r* stands for *Pro* (*P(ro)/lector*). Late groats of David II (e.g. Balleny nos. 16–19) have two stars in this position, and two coins are recorded

¹ J. Davidson, 'Distinguishing Marks on the Later Issues of David II', *BNJ* xxvi (1950), p. 159. A feature which has been revealed by die-analysis of the series is that, in all but a single instance as so far observed, individual obverse dies are either combined with reverses having the forward *d* in the first part of one of the quarters, or with reverses

with the reversed *d* in the last part of one of the quarters, but not with a mixture of forward and reversed *d*'s.

² A coin of this variety in the possession of Mrs. J. R. Perceval Maxwell, Finnebrogue House, Downpatrick, may well have been found on the estate.

with double saltires instead (S. Coll. pl. XV⁸ ex R. Carlyon-Britton Coll., with double saltire stops on obv.; and S. Coll. pl. XV⁹ ex Bute lot 222, with single saltire stops on obv.). No. 20 could be a mule with an obverse of Robert II and a reverse of David II, but the reverse has a smaller and plainer r than usual in the earlier reign and one which is generally found on coins of Robert II. It is therefore safer to regard the coin as a very early variety of the new reign. The same can be said of no. 21; the two crosses after *Dns* do not appear to be found otherwise on coins of either David or Robert.

Catalogue of Coins from Balleny

All are groats, and of the Edinburgh mint, unless otherwise stated. Gothic lettering is used throughout. On obverse the stops are between all words, unless otherwise indicated. References to Burns' figures do not imply die-identity. Weight in grammes followed by wt. in grains. Arrow indicates axis of reverse die in relation to upright obverse.

DAVID II

Heavy Coinage, 1357-67.

Stewart Group A (Burns 'Small Head')

1. Gp. A5 — plain tressure, saltire stops. Obv. (double struck) = B. 254 (same die). Rev. as B. 254 but *Dns*, crescent only (i.e. contractive mark for *Pro*) before *P|tector*, and *Vill|a* saltire *Ed|* (cf. B. 252). ↙ 4.3833 grammes (67.6 gr.).
2. Gp. A6 — plain tressure, cross stop. Aberdeen mint. B 255 (same obv. die). Rev. has *Mē* (for *M̄s*) z *Līb*. ↗ 4.3952 g. (67.8 gr.).

Stewart Group B (Burns 'First Intermediate Head')

3. Gp. B3b — small d in 2nd quarter of reverse, below a of *Vill|a*. Ornamental a both sides. Cross stops, two crosses and lis after *Scotorum*. Same obv. die as B. 268 and 271. ↙ 4.3687 g. (67.4 gr.).

Stewart Group C (Burns '(Second and) Third Intermediate Head')

4. Gp. C1 — reverse quarters plain. Double cross stops on obverse and after *Scotorum*. Ornamental a's but plain a in *Vill|a*. Cf. B. 286. → 4.2968 g. (66.3 gr.).

Stewart Group D (Burns 'Robert II Head')

5. Gp. D1 — no marks on reverse. Double cross stops on obv. and perhaps after *Scotorum* (cf. Richardson 70). a's ornamental but plain in *Vill|a*. Double-struck and buckled. ↗ 4.2455 g. (65.5 gr.).

Light Coinage, 1367-71.

6. S. class 1 — star behind neck and after e of *Ed|inbu|rgh*, cf. S. fig. 59. ↘ 3.9335 g. (60.6 gr.).
- 7-10. S. class 2a — star on sceptre-handle, trefoils in spandrels, curved line below bust, cross-over-crescent after *Dns*. Double cross stops on obv. Ornamental a both sides (not in B. with this a, but cf. Richardson 76-9). ↖ 4.0455 g. (62.4 gr.); ↘ 3.9926 g. (61.5 gr.); ↙ 3.9526 g. (61.0 gr.); ↘ 3.8630 g. (59.5 gr.).
11. Similar, but plain a. Rev. die cracked. B. 301. ↗ 3.9388 g. (60.7 gr.).
12. Similar, rev. die intact (attacked by soil acids and shows margin and parts of both faces blackened). ↗ 3.7851 g. (58.4 gr.).
13. Similar, but *S|tector* (unpublished reading). ↖ 3.7294 g. (57.5 gr.).
14. As 12 but no curved line below bust. B. 302. ↙ 3.7426 g. (57.7 gr.).
15. Similar, but two saltires after *Scotorum* (unpublished variety). ↙ 3.5761 g. (55.1 gr.).
16. S. class 2b — two stars after *Dns*, reads *Scotoru*. Curved line below bust, star on sceptre-handle, trefoils in spandrels, plain a. Stops on obv. double crosses (?). Overstruck, obv. on rev. of an earlier groat (mullet visible before chin). B. 305. ↖ 3.9920 g. (61.5 gr.).
17. S. class 2b — similar but *Scotorum* and obv. stops double saltires (margin of coin blackened and attacked by soil acids). B. 306. ↙ 3.7700 g. (58.2 gr.).
18. Similar, but no curved line obvious below bust (this coin has been the most heavily attacked by soil acids). ↘ 3.6840 g. (56.8 gr.).
19. Similar, but star-over-saltire after *Dei* (another coin from the same dies in Stewart collection completes the legend, showing two stars after *Scotorum*, and has the same double sceptre head due to double punching in the die). ↙ 3.8720 g. (59.7 gr.).

ROBERT II (1371-90).

20. Obv. Double cross stops, *Scotlorum*, six arcs, head as B. 311. Rev. Two stars after *Dns*, T of *ator* Ms struck over o. (Possibly a mule with David II reverse). Unpublished. \searrow 3.8572 g. (59.4 gr.).
21. Obv. Similar but head more as B. 310. Rev. Two crosses after *Dns*. \searrow 3.9482 g. (60.9 gr.).
- 22-27. Normal variety as B. 309 (3) with six arcs, *Scotlorum*, double cross stops on obv., cross-over-crescent after *Dns*. Slightly different varieties of head. \searrow 3.9810 g. (61.4 gr.); \nwarrow 3.9177 g. (60.4 gr.); \searrow 3.7934 g. (58.5 gr.); \nearrow 3.7328 g. (57.5 gr.); \nearrow 3.7332 g. (57.5 gr.); \uparrow 3.7054 g. (57.1 gr.).
- 28, 29. Similar but single cross stops on obv. (B. 310) \searrow 3.9822 g. (61.4 gr.); \searrow 3.5300 g. (54.4 gr.).
30. Perth mint, B. 317. \searrow 3.8115 g. (58.8 gr.).

Summary

BALLENY TOWNLAND, CO. DOWN, late August 1962.

30 (+ ?) AR Scottish. Deposit c. 1375.

Scotland: David II. Groats, Second Coinage (1357-67), Edinburgh, S. gp. A 5(1), B 3b(1), C 1(1), D 1(1); Aberdeen, A 6 (1). Third (light) coinage (1367-71), Edinburgh, class 1 (1), class 2a, ornamental A (4), class 2a, plain A (5), class 2b (4). Robert II, Edinburgh, early varieties with two stars after *Dns* (1) and two crosses after *Dns* (1); normal varieties, as B. 309. no. 3 (6), and B. 310 (2); Perth, as B. 317 (1).

Disposition: Ulster Museum. No container. Some coins may have been dispersed.

APPENDIX

Hoard containing early Scottish Groats

Hoard like Balleny, containing groats of David II and Robert II, have been discovered in some numbers on both sides of St. George's Channel. The lists which follow assemble information scattered in many publications not always readily available to numismatists. Consequently a number of them do not appear in Mr. Thompson's *Inventory of British Coin Hoards A.D. 600-1500* (1956). The entries have not been fully systematised, and no claim is made that the present lists are in any way complete. References to late eighteenth and early nineteenth century finds continually come to light.

Unfortunately, coin descriptions are almost wholly absent from the early records; also localities are generally so arbitrarily given that entries of a single find in different publications may suggest two or more discoveries, and this can happen as easily to-day as formerly¹.

In the older accounts the difficulty of distinguishing the period of those hoards which contain Scottish coins is increased by a tendency to attribute all pieces bearing the name Robert to 'the Bruce'. Where groats are mentioned by name or where the *Dominus Protector* reverse inscription is quoted the hoard must have had at least an element from the late fourteenth century and was certainly put together after 1357.

For example Cardonnel (1786)² knew that only the penny, halfpenny and farthing were struck during the early fourteenth century yet mistakenly attributed a Perth penny of Robert II to Robert I³. But the temptation to attribute coins to the illustrious Bruce was a strong one and numismatic references to him from various sources up to 1850⁴ are often in error for Robert II. The inscription on the reverse of the groat was misread and often wildly interpreted. "Jo: Molenii" (1670) has for instance: *Robertus Rex Scotorum*/*Dominus Dator*

¹ For an admirable discussion on this matter see Dolley on 'A small find of fourteenth century coins from West Limerick', in *N. Munster Antiquarian Journal*, viii, no. 4 (1961), pp. 157-67.

² Adam de Cardonnel, *Numismata Scotiae* (Edinburgh, 1786).

³ *op. cit.*, pl. II, no. 5. See also Lindsay (S.), p. 17

which corrects Cardonnel's error.

⁴ John Lindsay, who published his *View of the Scottish Coinage* in 1845, firmly established the sequence of the fourteenth century silver coinage on p. 18; he found no reason to modify his arrangement in his supplement of 1859.

*Mali Fatorum*¹; while an unidentified press cutting² about 1800, or a little later, referring to a groat or half groat, which must be of the same king, reads: 'DNS PECTOR MEISIBATVRMS—*Dominus Protector, meis ibat turmis* . . . [the words] unequivocally allude to providential deliverance from imminent danger; and they show that the deliverance was effected by an army crowned by Providence with victory . . . demonstrably applicable to Robert Bruce alone . . .'. The writer goes on to describe the piece as, 'probably one of a number of medals struck to commemorate the battle of Bannockburn'. Even as late as 1842 groats and halfgroats of Robert II were being sold under the title of Bruce, although here one suspects that the auctioneers were copying the entries from the owner's labels or coin tickets³.

In an unpublished work (copy at Queen's University library) entitled *A History of Rathlin* (1851) by Mrs. (Catherine) Gage, written by hand and illustrated with her own pen drawings, is described Robert Bruce's forced stay on Rathlin Island, off the north-east coast of Ulster, and his decisive victory over the English at Bannockburn. On page 62 are shown both faces of two groats, the upper being of Robert II, minted at Edinburgh, the lower David II, also Edinburgh (both SCOTORUM). The caption below reads 'Silver Coins of Robert Bruce and his son David II found near Bruce's Castle.'

A. Ireland.

- (i) Castlewellan near Newcastle, Co. Down, Aug. 1855, (Thompson—)

Large quantity of AR English, Scottish and foreign. Deposit c. 1355 (?).

Carruthers saw 200 of the coins which were sold in Belfast. The English portion consisted of pennies of Edward I and II with groats and half-groats of Edward III, the pence of the last-named were from regal and episcopal mints of Durham (one reading *VILA DUNOLME* = Bishop Hatfield, 1344–51), York and London, also 'Some pennies of David II and Robert II, and some counterfeit sterlings, minted by the various princes of Europe to imitate the Edwards'. Scottish groats are not mentioned (as having been seen), but it is possible that at least a few might have been present if there were groats and half-groats of Edward III. However, if the hoard had been concealed before 1357, the Scottish element would have been sterlings of Robert Bruce and David II.

James Carruthers, *Journal Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland* iv (1856–7), p. 50.

- (ii) Near Tullamore, King's County (Offaly), before 1849. (Thompson—).

AR English and Scottish. Deposit after 1357.

Unknown quantity of Edward III groats of London and York with Edinburgh groat of David II. Sherlock, on the evidence of Harriet S. Bockett, *BNJ* xxviii (1958), pp. 397–8.

- (iii) Athea, Park Turbury, Templeathea W., Co. Limerick, May 1928/Feb. 1929. (Thompson 227).

S AR Scottish and English. Deposit c. 1365 ±.

The find has recently been reassessed by Dolley. The English coins run from Edward I to III. The one Scottish coin was an Edinburgh groat of David II, second coinage, Stewart cl. A5 (c. 1359).

Dolley, *N. Munster Antiquarian Journal* viii, no. 4 (1961), pp. 157–67.

- (iv) Castle Enigan, near Newry, Co. Down, 1814. (Thompson 77).

About 200 AR Scottish and English. Deposit after 1371.

There are at least three nearly contemporary records of this find giving somewhat different accounts. Names mentioned are: Edward I, Robert Bruce and David (Robert's great-grandfather). Lindsay summarising the find writes: '1814—A labourer at work in a wood at Castlelenigan, within five miles of Newry, dug up a cow's horn filled with about 200 silver coins of Robert Bruce and David II'. Carruthers somewhat later says '1814 — near Belfast (!) a cow's horn full of coins of David and Robert of Scotland'. But James Stuart, who had a number of the pieces in his possession and who thought the hoard should be dated to the exploits of Edward Bruce in Ireland

¹ *Numismata Danorum et Vicinarum Gentium*, (edit. Th. Bartholino, Hafnia, 1670).

² Seen and transcribed by B.H.I.H.S.

³ See for instance *Catalogue of the Coins and Medals of the late Dean of St. Patrick* (30 June — 5 July 1842), p. 41, lots 649 and 650.

made it quite clear from his transcription of the legends that some of the coins were, in fact, Edinburgh groats of David II (SCOTORVM) and Robert II (SCOTORVM). From this it is inferred that certain coins in the hoard bearing the name of Edward may well have been groats of Edward III.

Fitzgerald and McGregor, *History of Limerick* ii (1826/7), p. 68; *Newry Magazine* i (1815), p. 119; Lindsay (S), p. 270; Carruthers, *Ulster Journal Archaeol.*¹ i (1853), p. 165; Stuart, *Historical Memoirs of the City of Armagh, etc.* (Newry 1819), pp. 181-2. (We are indebted to Mr. Dooley for this reference).

- (v) Pettigoe, Co. Fermanagh, April 1852. (Thompson 310).

14 AR Scottish (including 10 forgeries). Deposit after 1371.

David II, Edinburgh groats (2). Robert II, Perth half-groats (2). Contemporary Irish forgeries: David II, Edinburgh groat (1). Robert II, Edinburgh groats (9). Fully published by Aquilla Smith soon after discovery; D. F. Allen has recently added notes on the forging process. Smith records that there were also found at the same time, but apparently not in the hoard, an Aberdeen penny of David II and an Edinburgh groat of Robert II, both genuine.

Smith, *Proc. Royal Irish Academy* v (1850-2), pp. 324-30; Allen, *BNJ* xxvi (1949), pp. 90-1.

- (vi) Carrickfergus, Co. Antrim, 1855. (Thompson—).

AR Scottish. Deposit after 1371.

A small parcel of groats of David II and Robert II.

Carruthers, *Journal Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland* iv (1856-7), p. 50.

- (vii) Province of Connaught, site and county unknown, Aug. 1840. (Thompson 98).

About 50 AR Scottish. Deposit after 1371.

Groats and half-groats of David II and Robert II with one penny of Robert II. The coins were brought to Cork for sale.

Lindsay (S), p. 271. Two of the coins would seem to be of Stewart, pl. IV, no. 52.

- (viii) Mullynuro Abbey, Co. Armagh, (Thompson—).

AR and billon English, Irish, Scottish and foreign (?). Deposit after 1371.

T. G. F. Paterson mentions (letter to W. A. S., 14.12.56) English and Irish pence and halfpence of Edward I coined in London, Lincoln, Dublin and Waterford, and a few specimens of *moneta nigra* (Iushebournes). The latest coins in this early nineteenth century record were of David II and Robert II of Scotland. It is suggested that at least two groups or parcels of coins may be inferred on the basis of the Grey Abbey finds (see Seaby, 'A bronze weight box from Grey Abbey, Co. Down' in *Ulster Journal Archaeol.*³ xxi (1958), pp. 97-100).

- (ix) Abbey of Ines or Ardquin, Great Ards, Co. Down, April 1845. (Thompson 5).

400-500 (?) AR English, Irish and Scottish. Deposit after 1377.

England: Edward I to Richard II, pennies, groats and half-groats; also Edward IV, one heavy issue London groat and one of Coventry (1465). Ireland: Edward I, penny of Cork and halfpenny of Dublin. Scotland (40 or 50): David II, groats (10 ÷ ?), half-groats (?) and pennies (2 ÷ ?); Robert II, groats (10 ÷ ?), half-groats (?), pennies (2 ÷ ?). The hoard was discovered in a small box near the surface by some workmen digging potatoes in the reclaimed fishpond of the Abbey; the chief part of the hoard came into the possession of James Carruthers. Thompson (p. 4) suggests that the absence of Henry VI coins means that only a part of the hoard was preserved. Two versions given by Carruthers do not agree in all details and, from his descriptions, only some 340 pieces are accounted for. Nevertheless the fact that Carruthers nowhere mentioned Henry groats, leaving a gap of more than sixty years in the series, possibly means that the two pieces of Edward IV may have been intruders but were probably found in the ground at the same time as the box. Thus the *terminus post quem* for the main deposit may be said to be within the fourteenth century.

Seaby, 'Medieval Coin Hoards in North-East Ireland' *NC*⁶ xv (1955), pp. 163-4, 167; Carruthers, *Ulster Journal Archaeol.*¹ i (1853), pp. 165-6.

- (x) Knockagh, Monkstown, Co. Antrim, May 1903. (Thompson 73).

153 AR English, Irish, Scottish and foreign. Deposit after 1390.

A revision (*NC* (1955), pp. 161-2, 167-70) of the contents of this hoard, originally given under Troopers Lane, Carrickfergus, is based on the 124 coins now housed in the Ulster Museum and on the original, partly erroneous, description. There were 135 English pennies, half-groats and groats

ranging from Edward I to Richard II, one Dublin penny of Edward I, two sterlings of Count Gaucher of Porcien (Yves mint). The Scottish portion consisted of 15 coins: David II, Edinburgh groats, second issue (1), third issue (1); half-groats, second issue (2), third issue (1). Robert II, Edinburgh groats, early type with saltire behind head (Burns 324 A) (1), late type (3); half-groats, late type (2). Perth groats, late type (2); half-groat, late type (1). Robert III, Edinburgh groat, first or heavy issue (1). This last coin, one of the first of the facing type issues, is in good state of preservation; it is almost certainly the latest piece in the hoard, placing the deposit not earlier than 1390. Like the Castle Enigan hoard the coins were found in a cow's horn which crumbled to pieces upon exposure.

W. H. Patterson, *Journal Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland* xxxiii (1903), pp. 423-4.

B. England and Scotland.

- (xi) Closeburn, Dumfriesshire, 22 March 1844 (and 1846). (Thompson 92 and 93).
10,000 + and 11 AR English and Scottish etc. Deposit after 1357.

This large treasure, consisting of coins ranging from Edward I and Alexander III to Edward III and said to include groats of the last as well as of David II, was found during ploughing by Thomas Whitman at Croal Chapel, near Closeburn limekilns, in a small field, part of Barnmoor Wood, belonging to Sir Charles Granville Stuart Menteath, Bt. The hoard was said to have been concealed in a large tripod cooking pot, and the coins were carried away in large quantities by local persons and never properly examined. A very small parcel, probably belonging to the main cache, and including a groat of David II, was presented to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1846. Thompson rightly gives this parcel separately under no. 93. Five further coins, four of Edward I and II of different mints, and a groat of Robert II, given by Mr. Menteath Jr. of Closeburn to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland about 1829 cannot have been part of the great hoard.

Lindsay (S), pp. 269-70; the pot is not mentioned by Lindsay, or in *NC* vii (1844), p. 193, or in *Gent's. Mag.* (1844), p. 637. The statement here is based on *Inventory*, p. 33; Metcalf, *BNJ* xxx (1960), p. 92, no. 7.

- (xii) Montrave, Fifeshire, 1877. (Thompson 272).

9,441 AR English, Scottish, Anglo-Gallic and foreign. Deposit 1363 + (?).

This is a similar large hoard, found in a bronze tripod cauldron, and approximately of the same date as that from Closeburn. Its content is, however, much better attested since exact numbers of the various denominations and reigns have been recorded. An interesting aspect was the comparatively small number of Scottish pieces. They consisted of: William the Lion to David II, first coinage, sterlings (280); David II, second coinage, Edinburgh groats (124), half-groats (7), sterlings (14); Aberdeen groats (3), half-groats (1), sterlings (3). This total of 431 pieces represents less than 5% of the whole hoard which, if slightly above the average for large hoards of fourteenth century date in Britain generally, is below the average for Scottish coins in hoards and parcels of the same period found in the north-east of Ireland (see Seaby, *NC* (1955), p. 167).

Mr. Robert Kerr and Mr. R. B. K. Stevenson have been investigating the problem of whether any of the coins in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland throw any light on the terminal date of the Montrave hoard. Mr. Stevenson writes (letter to B.H.I.H.S., 26.11.64) that 'almost all our Edward III coins, whether or not they come from Montrave, are pre-Treaty . . . There is one half-groat which is not, but from its very worn condition can certainly be said to be non-Montrave. There are also three Treaty B pennies, two of which are in good or very good condition and could be Montrave. One, the best of these, has a whitish deposit on it which is noticeable on quite a number of the other coins we presume to be of Montrave and, in particular, is on a number of the David II groats which can be identified with fair certainty from the descriptions and weights given by Burns. The conclusion must be, I think, that there was a small, probably very small, Treaty B element in the hoard.' The Montrave hoard is one of the few chronological indicators for the early Scottish groat series; its latest Scottish coins are groats of S. class B, Burns Intermediate Head, second variety (B. 279).

- (xiii) Durham No. 2 (Beach Crest), 10 May 1930. (Thompson 149).

547 AR English, Scottish and foreign. Deposit c. 1360 +.

The hoard is well detailed by Lawrence and consisted mostly of English pence, with a few foreign sterlings, from Edward I to Edward III pre-Treaty type Gg; also about one-fifth

of the total was made up of London groats and half-groats of Edward III (A-G) with a few of York (D-E). The Scottish portion was three sterlings of Alexander III, six 'REX SCOTORUM' sterlings of David II and a single Edinburgh half-groat of David II, early head.

L. A. Lawrence, *NC*⁵ xi (1931), pp. 201-228.

- (xiv) Beaumont, Cumberland, 1884. (Thompson 38).

About 2,400 AN English, Irish, Scottish, Anglo-Gallic and foreign (2,000 listed). Deposit c. 1365 \pm .

If a good deal smaller than Closeburn and Montrave, the hoard follows much the same pattern. Here the composition of 1673 recorded English, Irish and Anglo-Gallic pennies, with 23 foreign sterlings, ranged from Henry III (1) to Edward III; there were also 125 groats and 92 half-groats of Edward III up to type G (London and York). The Scottish coins consisted of 41 sterlings, Alexander III to David II, first coinage. From 1357 onwards there were 27 groats and three fragments, ten half-groats and five pennies, all Edinburgh mint; also one groat of the Aberdeen mint. Ferguson and Keary, who reported the find, make it clear that a number of the Scottish groats of David have the 'Robert II head' which argues for a deposit between 1364 and 1370 but the English element might suggest a date for deposit similar to that for Closeburn, Montrave and Durham No. 2. (Dolley, *Mareham-le-Fen* hoard, *BNJ* xxxiii p. 83). The hoard seems originally to have been contained in a bag or box, judging by the discolouration of the soil around the mass of coins when discovered.

*NC*³ v (1885), pp. 199-208. Thompson's totals cannot be reconciled with those originally given by Ferguson and Keary, whose summary covered 2,000 coins.

- (xv) Belford, Northumberland, c. 1860. (Thompson-).

Three coins of David II of different types were probably specimens selected from a hoard.

Metcalf, *BNJ* xxx, p. 91, no. 3. While it is doubtful if this should really be included, it is here given for the sake of completeness.

- (xvi) London No. 2 (Beulah Hill, Upper Norwood, Surrey), April 1953. (Thompson 241).

14 AN and 124 AN English and Scottish. Deposit c. 1365 \pm .

One of the very few hoards of this period with an admixture of gold and silver coins, the former being on the whole later in type than the latter. The hoard must have been laid down well in the Treaty period, no fewer than one half-noble, six quarter-nobles, and two half-groats being assigned to the period 1363-9. The single Scottish groat in this hoard does not determine the *l.p.g.* since it is one of the earliest Edinburgh issues of David II and may date from 1357/8. It is to be compared with Burns 250, and is also a die duplicate of one of the groats from the Montrave hoard, now in the British Museum. No container was noted.

Dolley, *NC*⁶ xiii (1953), pp. 115-22. Thompson gives wrong totals and duplicates part of the transcription, *Inventory* pp. 86-7.

- (xvii) Mareham-le-Fen, Lincs, 9 October 1961. (Thompson-).

34 AN English and Scottish. Deposit c. 1365 \pm (?).

This hoard contained 27 English groats, all but one (York) of London and six English half-groats, again all but one (York) of London; the range was the pre-Treaty coinage from class B to class Gb (c. 1358). The odd bed-fellow was a groat of David II of Stewart's classification D1/D3 mule with the 'Robert II head' which would place the loss of this hoard probably not earlier than 1365. The Edinburgh groat may have been added to the cache later. Dolley says there was no trace of metal or pottery container.

R. H. M. Dolley, *BNJ* xxxiii, p. 83. We are much indebted to Mr. Dolley for allowing us to see his manuscript before publication.

- (xviii) South Shields, Durham No. 1, c. 1880, etc. (Thompson-).

AN English and Scottish (29 listed). Deposit after 1371.

This group of coins, although it includes two English coins, a London groat and half-groat of 1351-61, corresponds fairly closely in content and date to the Balleny hoard. Unfortunately it is impossible to class it as a tight parcel since the coins were picked up at random as beach-finds with others over a period of years on the Herd Sands between South Pier and the Fish Pier. The group as listed by Metcalf includes seven Edinburgh groats of David II and one 'REX SCOTORUM' penny; also eleven Edinburgh groats, five Perth groats and two Perth half-groats of Robert II. Metcalf's

descriptions inexplicably replace two crosses by two stars as stops *passim*; the original account correctly printed crosses.

Metcalf, *BNJ* xxx, p. 100, no. 48, and pp. 116-7.

- (xix) Durham No. 1, Neville's Cross, spring 1889. (Thompson 148).

256 AR English, Scottish and foreign. Deposit c. 1380 \pm .

The balance between English and Scottish differs in this case from most of the larger deposits, there being 70 Scottish to 185 English and one continental sterling. The original list by John Evans, who is said to have seen nearly all, is not detailed enough to give the *t.p.q.* of the English group; but the Edward III Durham and York coins constituted almost half the number of pieces found, and mention is made that the York pennies were badly struck. The Durham pence certainly reached well into the post-Treaty period but, since no Richard coins are listed, the hoard was unlikely to have been formed much later than 1377. The Scottish element was: one Alexander sterling; 24 Edinburgh groats and four half-groats of David II; 30 Edinburgh groats, three half-groats, and eight Perth groats of Robert II. The larger proportion of Robert coins suggests a date well into his reign. The hoard was found in a yellow-green glazed jug.

The *Inventory* summary is not accurate; the original paper by Evans in *NC*³ ix (1889), pp. 312-321, should be consulted.

- (xx) Branhholme, Roxburghshire, 1860. (Thompson 53).

AR Scottish of David II and Robert II (?) with AR ornaments. Deposit after 1371.

No details of the coins seem to have been preserved but the ornaments are in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland.

- (xxi) Brownlee, Lanarkshire, March 1770. (Thompson 60).

AR English and Scottish. Deposit after 1371 (?)

Again the date and content of the hoard is by inference only. Lindsay, quoting Ferguson, merely says 'A servant at Brownlee found an earthen pot containing a number of Scotch and English coins of David, Robert and Edward in fine preservation'. Probably Robert II, rather than the much scarcer Robert I, is to be read here, in the absence of Alexander III and John Balliol.

- (xxii) Craigie, Ayrshire, Jan. 1893. (Thompson 104).

80 AR Irish and Scottish. Deposit c. 1385 \pm .

The only Irish coin was an Edward I Waterford penny, very much the obsolete piece in this hoard, which otherwise consisted of mid-to-late fourteenth century Scottish coins—including one 'REX SCOTORUM' sterling. Since the original account gives references to Burns, the other 78 coins may be summarised as follows: David II, 2 'small head', 1 'intermediate head' and 18 'Robert II head' groats, 1 'small head' and 3 'Robert II head' half-groats of Edinburgh; Robert II, 32 groats, 2 half-groats and 1 penny of Edinburgh, 14 groats and 4 half-groats of Perth. Here the Robert coins, greatly out-numbering those of David, suggest the date of deposit as late in the fourteenth century. One Edinburgh groat has *v* behind head (Burns 8 var.). The hoard was discovered at a depth of two and a half feet during draining on the farm of Camsiscan by two sons of Hugh Drennan, Wraes. No container is mentioned.

A. B. Richardson in *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scotland* xxviii (1893-4), pp. 277-8. Note: Thompson gives Dublin penny although Richardson distinctly gives Irish penny of Waterford.

- (xxiii) Balcombe, Sussex, 23 May 1897. (Thompson 22).

12 AV and 742 AR English, Scottish and foreign. Deposit after 1377.

This is another hoard in which gold figured with the silver but in a much lower proportion. It is only included here because there was a tiny Scottish element, although these were sterlings, not groats or half-groats. There were ten altogether: three Alexander III 'REX SCOTORUM' sterlings; one 'REX SCOTORUM' and three Edinburgh pennies of David II; one Perth and two Edinburgh pennies of Robert II. The English coins ran from Edward I to Richard II (four groats, two half-groats, ten pennies and three halfpennies, all coins apparently of Purvey types I and II with a local type A), and included twelve Edward III nobles from the pre-Treaty, Treaty and post-Treaty periods. This hoard was wrapped up in a small piece of rough canvas and contained in a bronze tripod drinking jug, one foot of which was missing.

H. A. Grueber and L. A. Lawrence, *NC*³ xviii (1898), pp. 8-72 and pl. I-V.

- (xxiv) Drumlanrig, Nithsdale, Dumfriesshire, early 19th century. (Thompson-).

AR Scottish. Deposit after 1371.

A newspaper cutting, undated (seen and transcribed by B.H.I.H.S.), reads 'A few Days ago some Labourers were sinking a Well at Drumlanrig, in Scotland, they dug up several antique Silver Coins, struck in the Reign of King Robert Bruce'. Again the inference may be drawn that this is really a hoard of Robert II, but proof is lacking.

Search amongst the Buccleuch estate papers and reference to Mr. A. E. Truckell, Dumfries Museum, have brought no further information to light.

- (xxv) Edinburgh, Samson's Ribs, Holyrood Park, 3rd Feb. 1831. (Thompson-)

50-60 AR Scottish. Deposit late 14th cent. (?)

A cutting, undated (in the same collection as that of no. xxiv), from a Scottish newspaper reads as follows: 'The workmen employed on the Edinburgh railway found, on Tuesday se'nnight, among the debris under Sampson's Ribs, two large parcels of silver and copper coins the one parcel containing fifty or sixty pieces, all silver, and all ancient some of them being the coinage of Robert the First. They were lying among the broken fragments at a considerable depth under the surface, and covered by a large mass of whinstone, which had not been placed upon them by the depositors, but had fallen from the rock above. There is little doubt that this posey, which had been hid here, probably by some cunning person, in troublesome times, has lain in the soil five hundred years. Several of the coins are in good preservation, the figures are well marked, and the letters of the inscription quite legible. The other parcel of coins consisted of several hundred pieces, but a great part of them are copper, and all of much later date, There are one or two medals struck in Queen Mary's reign amongst them'. Here, too, the first hoard may be of the reign of Robert II or III.

Lindsay (S) p. 268 gives a shorter account of this discovery, stating that a selection of the coins 'were sent to the Antiquarian Society and Advocates Library, and the remainder to Mr. Jardine, Civil Engineer, superintending the formation of the Railroad.'

- (xxvi) Killichonate, Inverness-shire, c. 1831. (Thompson 211).

30 AR Scottish (only 1 listed). Deposit after 1390.

One groat of Robert III from this hoard, found on the farm of Killichonate by Spean Bridge in the Lochaber district, was given to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland by Capt. Macdonald in 1831.

Arch. Scotica v (1890), Don. p. 11.

- (xxvii) Fortrose, Cromarty, 22 Jan. 1880. (Thompson 165).

1,100 AR Scottish. Deposit c. 1400 +.

Robert III groats of the heavy coinage of Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Perth. This large hoard was examined by Geddie and Burns; the latter based his classification of the heavy coinage very largely on the Fortrose find, and it is considered that they ran almost to the end of Robert III's reign. Some of the coins were overstruck on Robert II groats. Like other hoards of the period the coins were contained in a bronze tripod drinking jug, very similar to that from Balcombe.

- (xxviii) In addition to references published in numismatic and archaeological works and in newspaper reports, the *First and Second Statistical Accounts of Scotland* contain a considerable number of reports on coin hoards. We are greatly indebted to Mr. Kerr for sending us his manuscript extracts of all coin finds recorded in the *Statistical Accounts*. Those which appear to fall within the period under discussion are given here *en bloc* under one number, a letter being assigned to each entry.

- (a) Redgorton parish, Perthshire (*Second S.A.S.* x, p. 177).

'In 1789 there were found on the farm of Balmblair, at a place called the Dumbie's Know, by the side of a large stone, as many of David's groats and half-groats and Edward's pennies as amounted, at the price of bullion, to three pounds. Some of the groats were in beautiful preservation . . . Mint: Edinburgh. One of these is now in the possession of the Antiquarian Society of Perth'. The deposit must have been well after 1357. That there were Edwardian pennies but not groats indicates that they were probably sterling of Edward I and II, which were still circulating widely in Scotland at this date. The value of the coins represents approximately 350 silver pence, which in terms of groats, half-groats and pennies might amount to between 100 and 200 coins in all.

- (b) Birse parish, Aberdeenshire (*Second S.A.S.* xii, p. 792).

'A few years ago [before 1842] four silver coins were dug out of a grave in the churchyard. They are much worn but had originally been nearly the size of modern half-crowns. They bear the inscription of 'ROBERTUS SCOTORUM REX' on one side and on the other 'VILLA EDINBURGH' and 'VILLA PERTH'. Although neither the groat of Robert II nor III reads exactly thus on obverse, the former king is more likely owing to the indication of the size of coin. The date of deposit could be any time after the first year or two of Robert II's reign.

- (c) Tynron parish, Dumfriesshire (*Second S.A.S.* iv, p. 475).

'A few silver coins discovered [before Feb. 1836] concealed beneath some stones at Pingarie Craig, principally of the reign of the Roberts and coined at Edinburgh.' These must have been of Robert II and III, since the coins of Robert Bruce do not bear a mint name. The date of deposit presumably lies somewhere in the last quarter of the fourteenth century or very early in the next.

- (d) Rosemarkie parish (Fortrose), Cromarty (*First S.A.S.* xi, p. 340, also repeated in *Second S.A.S.* xiv, p. 354).

'About 200 silver coins were found lately [about 1794] in a massy copper jug of an antique form, in digging up the foundation of an old house at Chanonry. They were coined in the reign of Robert, King of Scots, and are nearly of the size of a British Shilling'. This entry almost parallels the other find from Fortrose (xxvii above) except for the dates of discovery, 1794 and 1880, and the sizes of deposit, 200 as against 1,100. Nevertheless, both caches were in metal jugs, under floors of old houses in the cathedral town of Chanonrie, now Fortrose, and possibly the same circumstances caused the concealment of both. That the coins are of late fourteenth or early fifteenth century date is indicated by the description. Shillings of 1787 are both larger and thicker than the light groats of Robert III. Groats of the later heavy coinage are of about the same module as the shilling, but if a little clipped would be smaller. Any half-groats of the reign would be smaller. The pennies of Robert Bruce are much too small. A hoard composed entirely of Robert II half-groats is intrinsically unlikely, even if these coins were not nearer the size of eighteenth century sixpences than shillings. The description thus suggests a hoard of late Robert III groats, buried c. 1400 +.





THE WITCHINGHAM, NORFOLK, XV-XVI c. HOARD (1805)

by C. E. BLUNT AND R. H. M. DOLLEY

IN a volume of manuscripts in the library of the Society of Antiquaries of London (labelled COINS, ref. L/L/9) there is a sheet reading as follows:—

‘Read S.A.L. Novr. 14th 1850.

(Drawing of a groat of Richard III)

Dr. John/Mr. Moore has sent me 380 Coins to examine and I have accordingly carefully examined them, and selected one of each kind for you. The above Sketch represents a Coin found with the Rest, of which I can find no duplicate — it appears to be in the Reign of one of the Richards, but we know not which of them.

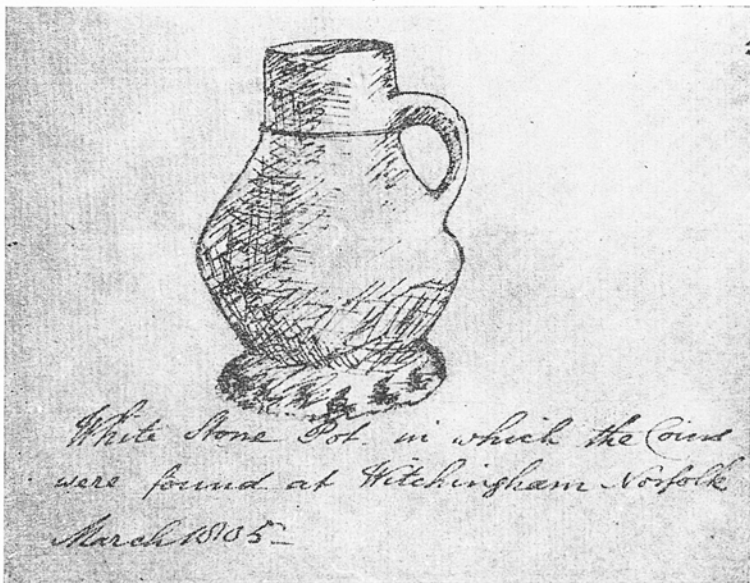
I have been enabled to make out the inscriptions upon the different coins by examining them all — as it happens that where a particular part is obscure in one Coin that part is sufficiently perfect in another to be decyphered without difficulty. On the other side I send you a Copy of all the Inscriptions.

Your affectionate Brother

Wm Repton

Aylsham 28th May 1805.

There were but 2 Gold Coins found — both of which Mr. Moore has disposed of and I have not been able to see either but they are stated to be Coins of the Reign of Richard III’.



Below this is a drawing of the pot (reproduced here) with the following note:—

‘exhibited S.A.L. Novr. 14th 1805.

White Stone Pot in which the Coins
were found at Witchingham Norfolk
March 1805.’

The coin drawn at the head of this note is a London groat of Richard III with IM sun and rose on both sides.

The recipient of this letter, John Repton, 1775-1860, was the son of Humphrey Repton, the celebrated landscape gardener, and was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1803¹. The father lived at Aylsham about eight miles from Witchingham. We had hoped to find out more evidence about this hoard from a Repton sale catalogue, but Mrs. Martin, who has very kindly checked through the British Museum records, has been unable to find any trace of the dispersal of his cabinet.

The hoard appears to be unpublished, so we enquired of the late Mr. R. Rainbird Clarke, F.S.A., the curator of the Norwich Castle Museum, whether he had found any reference to it either in local publications or in manuscript notes and whether the pot was identifiable in the Norwich museum. He replied that he had been unable to find any reference to the hoard nor could the pot be identified at Norwich.

However the 'Copy of all the Inscriptions' is preserved in the minute books of the Society of Antiquaries to whom we are indebted for permission to record the hoard here and to publish a reproduction of the drawing of the pot. From the list in the minute book it appears that Repton exhibited 14 coins, which did not include a Richard III groat.

Mrs. Martin has very kindly drawn our attention to one further coin from the hoard that passed through the sale-room in 1847 in Col. Durrant's sale, lot 342. This is a groat of Richard III, IM boar's head on both sides and said to have been 'found, with several other Groats, under the floor of an old barn at Witchingham, in Norfolk' and to have been given to Col. Durrant, who lived in Suffolk, by 'J. Custance, Esq.'

Adding these various scraps of information together, we get a record of 18 coins from the hoard and, as William Repton says that he has selected for his brother one of each kind, as far as they were available to him, the list is probably representative of the hoard as a whole:—

EDWARD IV

1	Groat.	London.	IM rose (possibly cinquefoil) both sides.
2	"	"	IM crown both sides.
3	"	Bristol.	IM crown both sides.
4	"	York.	IM sun both sides.

RICHARD III

5/6	Two gold coins (angels?).		
7	Groat.	London.	IM sun and rose both sides.
8	"	"	IM boar's head both sides.

HENRY VII

9	Groat.	London.	1st coinage (?). IM rose both sides. The rough drawing of the IM could equally be of a cinquefoil, but the coin is, in the list, attributed to Henry IV and so is likely to have been of the open-crown issue.
10	"	"	3rd coinage. IM cross crosslet both sides.
11	"	"	IM doubtful.
12	Half-Groat.	Canterbury.	1st or 2nd coinage. IM tun both sides.
13	"	"	1st or 2nd coinage. IM doubtful.

¹ *Dictionary of National Biography* under Humphrey Repton

HENRY VII (*cont.*)

14	Half-Groat.	London.	3rd coinage. IM pheon both sides.
15	„ „	York.	3rd coinage. Archbishop Bainbridge. Keys under arms
16	Penny.	Durham.	Sovereign type. Bishop Sherwood. DS under arms.
17	„	York.	Sovereign type. Keys under arms.

FLANDERS. CHARLES THE BOLD (1467-77). Double patard reading *Carolus Dei Gra' Dux Burg' Co: Fla' and Sit Nomen Domini Benedictum*.

Dr. J. P. C. Kent has kindly supplied the following note on the pot:—

'The "White Stone Pot in which the Coins were found" belongs to a numerous group of vessels made in the Rhine valley, and known by the generic name of "Siegburg ware". The jug's small plain neck, bulbous biconical profile and broad base, together with the absence of glaze, suggests a date in the third quarter of the 15th century. A comparable pot is shown in a painting by Dirk Bouts, *Gastmahl des Simeon*, which is dated 1460'.

The latest identifiable coin in this list is number 15 which Brooke tentatively dates from December 1508. If this dating is sustained, a deposit early in the reign of Henry VIII, say c. 1510, would seem indicated.

If the rather scanty account is correct and the only two gold coins in the hoard were of Richard III, that is issued a quarter of a century before the deposit, this would suggest that we have here a long-term savings hoard. Dr. Kent's suggestion as to the date of the pot confirms this.

Finally we must express our indebtedness to Mr. John Hopkins, Librarian of the Society of Antiquaries, who first drew our attention to the manuscript book in which the record of this hoard is to be found.

BURGUNDIAN DOUBLE PATARDS IN LATE MEDIEVAL ENGLAND

By PETER SPUFFORD

IN an earlier article I was concerned with the varying success of the efforts of the English government to prevent the circulation of continental coins, particularly Flemish nobles and Venetian soldini, or *galyhalpens*, in late medieval England¹. In this present article I hope to survey the evidence relating to the circulation in England of the Burgundian double patard from 1469 to the 1530's. As with its predecessor, I have received help from many hands in the compilation of this article. I trust that all such help has been acknowledged in the relevant footnotes, but I should again like to single out for particular thanks Mr. Michael Dolley of Queen's University, Belfast, for his continual aid and encouragement.

The suppression of the import of *galyhalpens* and *blankes* by the 1420's and the final disappearance from circulation about 1435 of imitative continental sterlings restored a uniformity to the English currency that had been lacking since the first import of imitative sterlings. With a small admixture of Scots pieces, English coins alone circulated in England. The evidence for such an assertion must necessarily be negative in nature. After 1424 there were no further petitions in parliament against the circulation of continental coins, and no further statutes or proclamations were made against them, that I can find. Nor were there any further hoards containing continental pieces. The value of this last piece of evidence is largely nullified by the curious fact that no hoards whatsoever have yet been found in England from the period from about 1435 to about 1460. This surprising phenomenon of the absence of coin hoards from the mid-fifteenth century is paralleled in Scotland, the Low Countries and France. In the Low Countries and also in the Rhineland it coincided with a period at which it was difficult to obtain bullion for minting. Although issues from the Tower mint were relatively low, it did not have to close like many continental mints, including that at Calais, for lack of bullion. Such mintable bullion, of course, consisted mainly of foreign coin. It would, however, be rash to correlate the lack of intrusive continental coins in circulation with the general dearth of bullion in north-western Europe. It might be less rash to correlate both the total lack of continental coins in circulation in England, and the relative lack of continental coins as bullion for reminting, with the general commercial situation. This period saw a decline in the export of wool, hitherto England's principal export, without a corresponding increase in the export of cloth. These middle years of the century were in England, as elsewhere in Western Europe, the lowest point in the secular depression of trade in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Tower mint nevertheless managed to remain open, whilst those in the Netherlands, northern France and the Rhineland had to close. Unless either English mines were more productive than has been supposed, or there was an improbably large dethesuarization of precious metals, the survival of the Tower mint suggests that bullion, that is to say, foreign coin, was probably still flowing into the country, albeit in limited quantities. This presumably derived from Italian and Hanscatic merchants who bought more than they sold in this country. It cannot have come from the Staplers'

¹ 'Continental Coins in Late Medieval England', *British Numismatic Journal*, xxxii (1963), pp. 127-139

wool exports, else the Calais mint would have remained open, nor any longer from the profits of the Hundred Years War, and it hardly seems likely to have derived from Merchant Adventurers who are thought to have been as much importers as exporters at this date. From whatsoever source it came the foreign coin was channelled efficiently to the Tower mint and none escaped into circulation.

One may thus, with some confidence, assert that probably from the 1420's and almost certainly from the 1430's, the English government succeeded in its traditional aim of limiting the currency circulating in England to English coin. This so strenuously restored uniformity of circulation in England was hardly destined to last much more than thirty years. In 1469 the traditional policy was overthrown when the economic bonds between England and the Low Countries, and the political and family ties between Edward IV and Charles the Rash, were strengthened by a monetary convention allowing the circulation of English coin in the Burgundian Netherlands and of Burgundian coin in England. Since it resulted in so radical an alteration in monetary policy, it is perhaps worthwhile examining in some detail the negotiations which brought about the legal circulation of non-English coin in England for the first time.

The opening of these negotiations seems to have been repeatedly postponed. Originally a general commercial diet of English and Burgundian ambassadors and merchants was planned for 20 January 1469 at Bruges, Calais or Saint Omer. This was initially postponed until 12 May and on 1 May Edward IV named four ambassadors and seventeen merchants to go to Bruges for this commercial gathering. The diet was again postponed until 1 June so that a monetary conference, now mentioned for the first time, might be held with it. New commissions were therefore issued to the same ambassadors and merchants empowering them to deal both with general commercial problems and with monetary questions, and their numbers were specially reinforced by at least two monetary experts¹. However, before its departure, the scope of the embassy was extended yet further, for three further ambassadors were added and additional powers were given to treat with the Hanse².

The embassy eventually left London on 19 May 1469. The ambassadors were Thomas Rotherham, keeper of the privy seal³, Master William Hatteclyffe, secretary to Edward IV⁴, Sir John Scott, comptroller of the royal household⁵, and John Baron Wenlock, chief butler to the king⁶. All these were trusted servants of the king and key members of the royal household, typical of those through whom the Yorkists, as Henry VII after them, ruled England and managed their diplomacy. Of these men, Wenlock had a special interest in the Low Countries as Lieutenant of Calais, as did Scott, who had been one of the negotiators of the marriage alliance with Burgundy and the earlier commercial treaty. Hatteclyffe had a special interest in monetary affairs, as farmer of the King's Exchange⁷, although he had

¹ This summary derived from C. L. Scofield, *Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth*, i (1923), pp. 485-6.

² T. Rymor, *Foedera*, xi, pp. 645-7.

³ At this time Bishop of Rochester, later to be Archbishop of York. See the *Dictionary of National Biography* for details of his career.

⁴ Secretary to Edward IV from about 1466 to 1480. Previously physician to Henry VI and Edward IV. See *Dictionary of National Biography* and J. Otway-Ruthven, *The King's Secretary and the Signet Office in the 15th Century* (Cambridge, 1939).

⁵ See *Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁶ See *Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁷ In 1462, as Edward IV's physician, he had been granted forty marks per annum out of the profits of the Exchange. In 1464, together with Moreys Burghill he had obtained the farm of the Exchange within the whole realm for £30 per annum and that of Calais for £20 per annum. They appear to have lost these almost at once as a by-product of an Act of Resumption later the same year. In 1468 both Exchanges were granted to him as King's Secretary at thirty pounds a year for seven years, or until someone should be willing to pay more. R. Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain*, 3rd ed. (London, 1840), quoting from patent, fine and parliamentary rolls.

been named in the original commission, before monetary questions had been added to commercial ones.

The merchant members of the embassy were led by John Prout, mayor of the staple at Calais, and William Caxton, at this date at Bruges as 'governor' of the English merchants in the Low Countries but shortly to be more famous as a printer. The importance of these two in the commercial negotiations is obvious.

Burgundian sources speak of the presence at the meeting of the 'general masters' of the mints of England, but the office of 'general master' did not exist in England. English sources only indicate the presence of two monetary experts; Hugh Bryce, who deputized for Lord Hastings as master of the Tower mint,¹ and Ralph Tikvill, who was probably an assayer, perhaps at the mint.²

The Duke of Burgundy was represented on his side by his chancellor, Guillaume Fillastre³, and by others of the great council of Burgundy, who were supported in a consultative capacity by a number of specialists in monetary affairs. These included Arnoul Musch⁴ and Guillaume de Troyes⁵, the general masters of all the mints of the Duke of Burgundy, and Marc Bingneteur⁶, assayer-general of the Burgundian mints, also Thierry de Beaumont⁷, exchanger-general of Holland and Zealand, and the officers of the Bruges mint, Ypol Terrax⁸ and Jehan Roland⁹, the joint masters, Henry de le Kienrue¹⁰, the warden, and Jaques Collebrant¹¹, the comptroller.

What part the monetary conference played in the general negotiations is not clear, but it seems to have been one of the earliest matters to be dealt with. The negotiations were due to commence on June 1st, and the periods of attendance of the monetary experts suggest that coinage was under discussion in late June and early July¹². Certainly coinage was the only subject on which a successful conclusion was reached. The commercial negotiations

¹ Bryce or Brice, goldsmith and citizen later sheriff of London. Described on 6 March 1469 as deputy to William Lord Hastings in his office of master and worker of the king's moneys of gold and silver and keeper of the mints and exchanges in the Tower of London, the realm of England and the town of Calais. *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1467-77, p. 149; and in the previous year as 'one of the Governours of the Kyngs mynte at his Toure'. *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, v, pp. 634-5. However, in 1471 and 1475 he was only described as 'clerk of the mint'. *Calendar of Close Rolls*, Edward IV, ii, nos. 862 and 1420.

² I suggest this on the grounds that he was paid twenty marks for accompanying Bryce and others beyond the sea to examine the value of money in circulation in the domains of the Duke of Burgundy. Scofield, op. cit., p. 486. To assay it seems the only possible way to examine the value of money.

³ At this date Bishop of Tournay. See the *Biographie Nationale de Belgique* for his career.

⁴ Ducal Councillor, Burgomaster of Malines, General Master since 1454, previously master in turn of the mints of Holland, Zevenbergen and Ghent.

⁵ Ducal Councillor, General Master 1455-1480.

⁶ Bingneteur or le Bungueteur, Assayer-General 1468-1474, goldsmith and money-changer, citizen of Bruges. Master of Bruges mint 1474 to 1480.

⁷ Burgomaster, later Echevin, of Dordrecht. Master of the Dordrecht mint 1454-7 and 1474-5, Exchanger-General 1469-70.

⁸ Of Malines. Master of the Bruges mint 1468-74, and of the Antwerp mint 1474-8.

⁹ Money-changer. Citizen of Bruges. Master of the Bruges mint 1467-9.

¹⁰ Ducal Councillor, Warden of the Bruges mint 1455-72; previously master of the mints of Zevenbergen, 1433, and Flanders 1437-9.

¹¹ Comptroller of the Bruges mint 1469-80. The biographical notes on these mint officials were compiled from manuscript material at Lille, Brussels and the Hague in the course of preparing *Monetary Problems and Policies in the Burgundian Netherlands 1433-96* (Ph. D. Thesis, Cambridge 1962).

¹² Musch was away from Malines from 14 June to 5 July. Bingneteur made seven assays in June in the presence of the deputies of Edward IV, using up a mark of patards in the process. He also provided a banquet in honour of the English. Since he was allowed expenses for seventeen days at the conference, and part of this was in June, one might guess that he was in attendance for approximately the same dates as Musch. Kienrue and Collebrant were equally allowed expenses for seventeen days attendance. Beaumont on the other hand was away from Dordrecht from 19 June to 12 August, so it might be suggested that he was concerned with the general commercial negotiations as well. Archives Générales du Royaume, Brussels, Chambre des Comptes, 18106, 18107, 18108.

ran into difficulties over the refusal of Charles the Rash to 'enlarge' English cloth in the Burgundian Netherlands. The military negotiations also ran into difficulties, and no plans were drawn up for the projected military expedition against the King of France. The negotiations with the Hanse came to nothing, if they ever started, and hostilities broke out¹.

The momentum of the negotiations was increasingly slowed down by the natural reluctance of the English delegates to commit themselves to anything concrete in view of the revolutionary political situation at home. In July Edward IV's supporters had been defeated and control of the government had temporarily fallen into the hands of Warwick. The king himself was virtually a prisoner of Warwick during the earlier part of August². It is little wonder that the negotiations were abandoned at this point, and the principal member of the English delegation, Rotherham, returned to London on 19 August. The king's secretary, Hattecliff, however, remained away until November and was presumably one of those who saw to it that the successful conclusion to the monetary discussions in June and July should be salvaged from the general wreck of the conference. On 23 August 1469 a monetary agreement was published in Bruges.

This monetary agreement elaborated a relatively simple table of values at which the coinage of England should circulate in the Low Countries and that of Burgundy in England. The key to the relationship was the equivalence of the Burgundian double patard and the English groat, known in the Low Countries as the stoter³. Both were to circulate in England for four pence sterling, and in the Low Countries for four Flemish groats. Likewise the English halfgroat was to circulate in the Low Countries for two Flemish groats and the English penny for one Flemish groat, whilst the Burgundian patard was to circulate in England for 2d. sterling. The smaller Burgundian denominations were not, however, to circulate in England, as being too base to be acceptable. By the convention the relationship of gold to silver was assumed to be twelve to one in both countries. Hence the English noble was to circulate in the Low Countries for 120 Flemish groats, with its half and quarter in proportion, whilst the florin of Burgundy was to circulate in England for 3s. 6d. sterling, with its half in proportion. The delegates of the Duke of Burgundy reserved the right to strike a double florin.

Certain points remained inconclusive—whether or not the English pound sterling and the Flemish pound groat were to be equal as money of account and equally usable in both countries; what degree of loss in weight rendered coin fit only as bullion; and whether or not Burgundian coin might be exported from English continental possessions, and whether or not English coin might be exported from the Burgundian dominions. Behind this last unresolved point lay the Burgundian fear that their coin might leak into French melting pots through Calais, and the English fear that their coin might flow rapidly into Rhenish melting pots through the Low Countries⁴.

The political situation in England was in great confusion whilst the negotiations were in progress, but it was shortly to grow even more chaotic. A further turn of fortune's wheel brought Edward IV to the court of Burgundy as a throneless exile. As a result agreements made in his name, as King of England, can have had little validity, and I have been unable to find documentary evidence of any formal ratification of the agreement either on the

¹ Scofield, *op. cit.*, pp. 486–7.

² Scofield, *op. cit.*, pp. 495ff.

³ The Burgundian double patard, struck uniformly in Flanders, Brabant, Holland and Hainault, at this date weighed 3.16 gm. and was 0.878 fine, whilst the

English groat weighed 3.11 gm. and was 0.925 fine.

⁴ For a fuller description of the content of the agreement see A. de Witte, *Conférence Monétaire Internationale tenue à Bruges en 1469 and Histoire Monétaire du Brabant*, ii (1896), pp. 38–42.

Burgundian or the English side, either in the autumn of 1469 or after the restoration of Edward IV. Whether formally ratified or not, the agreement was implemented, at least in part. English silver coin circulated more largely in the Netherlands, whilst in England Burgundian double patards of this period did circulate and were legally protected as an integral part of the currency.

It is interesting to notice that, when in 1475 Edward IV reversed his alliances and joined France against Burgundy, the treaty of alliance specified that, within a year, a monetary conference between English and French should be held on similar lines to that between English and Burgundians in 1469¹. Nothing appears to have come of this. I know of no evidence for such a conference having taken place, and certainly French pieces are not found in England in the same way as Burgundian ones.

The Burgundian pieces found in English hoards seem to be exclusively double patards. Alongside 260 English groats and one Irish groat in the hoard categorised by J. D. A. Thompson as 'Unknown Site No. 5', possibly Wymondham in Norfolk, deposited about 1485, there were 39 Burgundian double patards of Charles the Rash, 29 from Flanders and 10 from Brabant, in other words about 13% of the hoard². In the Hounslow, Middlesex, hoard, deposited between 1495 and 1500, there were 86 double patards of Charles the Rash together with 289 English groats and half-groats and one Irish groat, altogether about 23% of the hoard³. In the Norham Castle, Northumberland, hoard, deposited after 1507, there were three double patards of Charles the Rash with 20 English groats, again about 13% of the find⁴. In the Hartford, Huntingdonshire, hoard, deposited about 1508 or 1509, there were 83 double patards amongst over a thousand coins, under 8% of the hoard⁵. There was also a single double patard in the Witchingham, Norfolk, hoard, probably also deposited about the end of Henry VII's reign⁶; and in the Maidstone hoard, deposited about 1538, there were twelve double patards of Charles the Rash amongst the 498 silver pieces, in other words just over 2% of the hoard⁷. Double patards probably found their way to Ireland as a by-product of their circulation in England. The Kilgorman, Co. Wexford, hoard of 459 coins, almost entirely groats, which was apparently deposited in the early or middle years of Henry VIII's reign, contained four pieces of Charles the Rash. These were presumably double patards⁸.

In addition to hoards, there have been a considerable number of stray finds of double patards. Those that have come to my notice include one in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, found near Clare⁹, and another in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, found at

¹ Item, quod infra Annum a Data Praesentium, per antedictos Principes Nova statuatur DIETA, in qua eorum Legati et Deputati talem Pecuniae et Monetae utriusque Regni Angliae et Franciae, AEstimationem et Valorem apponant et statuunt, quo ipsa Regna dictorumque Principum Subditi exinde magis habundare et ad commune eorum Bonum utilius prosperari valeant.

T. Rymer, *Foedera*, xii, 20.

² J. D. A. Thompson, *Inventory of British Coin Hoards 600-1500* (London, 1956), no. 369. There are in my collection 13 double-patards of Flanders and five of Brabant which may have come from this hoard.

³ Thompson, *op. cit.*, no. 195.

⁴ *British Numismatic Journal*, xxvi (1951), pp. 348-50.

⁵ I am indebted to Dr. John Kent of the British Museum for an opportunity to examine, and for details of, this hoard, discovered in 1964, which

Miss Marion Archibald and he will be publishing shortly. As well as eighty double-patards of Charles the Rash, 55 of Flanders and 25 of Brabant, there were, unusually, three double-patards of the last issue of Philip the Good, one of Flanders and two of Brabant, and two pieces of Alfonso V of Portugal.

⁶ I am indebted to Mr. Christopher Blunt for information about this hoard, discovered in 1805, which he and Mr. Michael Dolley publish above, pp. 107-109.

⁷ *British Numismatic Journal*, xxvii (1952), pp. 58-65.

⁸ *Journal of the Kilkenny and South East of Ireland Archaeological Society*, new series, v (1886), pp. 521-3. I am indebted to Mr. Wilfred Seaby of the Ulster Museum for this reference.

⁹ Lewis Collection, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Bought by Lewis at Sturmer, Essex, 6. iv. 1881. A double patard of Flanders.

Dunster¹. In September 1960 two were brought into the British Museum, one found at Croydon, Surrey, the other at Yarmouth, Isle of Wight. In May 1961 another was found at Islington in a lorry load of earth from Hertfordshire², and in October 1961 one was dug up in a garden near Walton, Derbyshire³.

It would seem then, from hoard evidence alone, that for some forty-five years at least the double patards of Charles the Rash formed an integral part of the English coinage, and that even in the late 1530's they were still circulating, although in much smaller quantities.

The hoard evidence may be paralleled by documentary evidence of the legal protection accorded to double patards as currency.

There is one reference which can hardly refer to any other pieces than double patards, since they are the only foreign coins actually known from hoard evidence to have circulated. An act of 1487 made it treason to counterfeit foreign coins of gold and silver which were permitted to be current in England, a crime of which 'divers persons had been guilty, because they perceived that the forging them was neither felony nor treason'⁴.

Later references are more explicit. A printed proclamation of 1504, illustrated in the margin with a wood-cut of a double patard, confirms the impression that the double patard had for some time been common currency of the realm, but implies that by this time they were in general becoming considerably worn, which is hardly surprising for they were all by then at least thirty years old. In consequence of their poor condition both double patards and the older English groats were frequently being refused as change. The proclamation provided criteria by which the coins should be judged, and ordered:

yt every double-placke beyng sylver which hath his scription apparaunt on the one syde, or on the other syde, to goo and to be curraunt, and not to be refused.⁵

This proclamation, and another the following year⁶, although confirming the double patard as legal currency, also provided for the reminting of those which were excessively clipped and worn. The king had a special exchange set up at 'Leden Hall', London, until Candlemas 1506, at which these were to be exchanged as bullion, at 3s. 2d. an ounce.

Finally a proclamation of 1526 shows that they were still legally current although coming to the end of their useful life, being mostly in rather a decayed state.

The carolus placks of the old coin of the Duke of Burgundy, not being in fineness equal to sterling by twenty pence in the pound troy, it was ordained that they, not being clipped nor notably broken, should still be current at four pence sterling, but all persons who should think it more advantageous to convert them into the new coin, might do so.⁷

¹ Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Found at Dunster, given by Margaret Luttrell of Dunster Castle to Spencer George Percival and included in his bequest to the Fitzwilliam Museum in 1922. A double patard of Flanders.

² I am indebted to Mr. Michael Dolley for information about these three finds.

³ I am indebted to Mr. K. F. Stanesby, Borough Librarian of Burton-upon-Trent, for this information.

⁴ Ruding, *op. cit.*, i, p. 294. Statute 4 Henry VII Chapter 18 (repealed 1 Edward VI Chapter 12 § 2). Perhaps with this forgery of foreign coin may be associated the die in the Public Record Office of a Double Briquet of Mary of Burgundy for Flanders (E. 29/153). This has been described by Derek Allen, 'Dies in the Public Record Office 1938', *British Numismatic Journal*, xxiii (1938-9), 31-50. If this die is genuine, as it appears to be, it must remain a

puzzle how it came into the British public records, but if it were a seized forger's die its presence would be more explicable.

⁵ Proclamation of 5 July 1504, Society of Antiquaries, Proclamations 1 (9), partly printed in Ruding, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 297-8, printed in full and illustrated in P. L. Hughes and J. F. Larkin, *Tudor Royal Proclamations*; (Yale, 1964), pp. 60-1 and Plate 1.

⁶ Letters Patent of 27 April 1505 to sheriffs ordering proclamation to be made. *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Henry VII, ii, p. 409, and Hughes and Larkin, *op. cit.*, i, p. 70.

⁷ Printed proclamation of 5 November 1526, Ruding, *op. cit.*, i, p. 305, from the copy in the library of the Society of Antiquaries; also in Hughes and Larkin, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 158-163.

The evidence of the Maidstone hoard suggests that the gentle persuasion of the 1526 proclamation was as ineffective as that of the 1504 and 1505 proclamations in totally reminting double patards out of circulation. It was presumably the enormous issues of debased silver after 1544 which finally swept the remaining double patards out of the pockets of the public into the mint's melting pots and so brought their currency to an end.

What may seem somewhat curious is that in the monetary agreement of 1469 the inter-circulation of a whole range of pieces was provided for, but in practice only double patards are found in hoards, and only double patards were protected by proclamation. There is a further limitation to one particular issue of double patards. None of the pieces of the same denomination but of a different type, the briquet or vuurijzer type, issued in pursuance of the ordinance of 27 October 1474, have been found in England.

The question arises as to how so many came into England. I can find no evidence either for or against the suggestion that the bulk of them came into England as part of a subsidy paid directly by Charles the Rash to Edward IV. It is not clear in what currency the subsidy, amounting to twenty five thousand *andriesgulden*, was paid to assist Edward's restoration in 1471. Since only one *andriesgulden* has been found in England¹ as yet, it would seem unlikely that the subsidy was actually paid in gold *andriesgulden*. On the other hand double patards would have been very convenient for use in hiring soldiers, the immediate object of the subsidy. There are cases of double patards being used for pay, both of Burgundian troops and of the Calais garrison. Edward IV remained a pensioner of Burgundy from his restoration until his reversal of alliances in 1475, but there is no means of telling in what currency the pension was paid. The fact that Burgundy became a hostile power in 1475 might well account for the unacceptableness in England of the new type of double patard introduced late in 1474.

It is not impossible, however, that the whole quantity came into England in the course of trade, for, from the restoration of Edward IV, English cloth exports to the Low Countries began to increase very rapidly and there was probably an increasing balance of trade in England's favour. Examples from 1479, 1481, 1482 and 1484 in the Cely correspondence illustrate some portion of such a favourable trade balance returning to England in the form of double patards. These show the Celys sending home from the Low Countries sums of £10, £12, £23 and even £40 or £50 in what they called 'carolus', 'carowlles', 'carolles', 'carlys', 'carlyche' or 'carleche' groats. They show that sometimes, as in 1479, they were not well received, but that on other occasions, as in 1481, they were particularly sought for and were used by Richard Cely in making wool purchases in the Cotswolds².

Whether the bulk of the double patards which entered the English currency did so as a result of subsidy or favourable balance of trade cannot now be disentangled, but it seems unlikely that merchants, such as the Celys, should have been able to introduce small, if frequent, quantities of double patards into the currency unless there was already a considerable quantity in circulation to make them acceptable to the public. I would suggest therefore that there was at least one large payment at a governmental level in double patards, and that made in 1471 seems to me the most likely.

It is, nevertheless, astonishing that, whether relatively calmly in 1469 or in the heat of the struggle for the throne in 1471, an English government should allow itself to think in

¹ At Wiston, Suffolk, in 1854. *Archaeologia*, xlvii (1881), 270 footnote. I am indebted to Dr. Michael Metcalf for this reference.

² *Cely Papers*, ed. H. E. Maldon (Camden Society, 1900), pp. 15-17, 73, 81, 84 and 149.

terms of permitting the circulation of foreign coin in England, a thought that no previous English government appears to have entertained.

Thus in the later middle ages the currency of England not only suffered from the continual plague of Scottish pieces and the relatively minor incursions of imitative continental sterlings, Flemish nobles and two waves of Venetian soldini, but was also deliberately diluted with Burgundian double patards. Whereas the presence of these last was a direct result of government action, all the others had come into England despite the strenuous opposition of both crown and parliament. It is a tribute to the efficient deployment of the limited administrative machinery at the disposal of the government that so few foreign pieces were able to enter the country and survive in circulation whilst contemporary Europe witnessed greater chaos and heterogeneity in its currency than perhaps at any other time.

Even if England escaped this chaos, Scotland and Ireland were by no means immune. Currency regulations there legitimated the circulation not only of English as well as native pieces, but also French saluts and crowns, Burgundian nobles, riders and lions, Italian ducats, Portuguese crusados and the gulden issued by the Rhineland electors¹.

In the sixteenth century England to a certain extent fell into line with Scotland and Ireland and with the rest of Europe. By 1522 ducats, crowns of the sun, other crowns, carolus florins, and various sorts of base florins were all catered for in a proclamation as having currency². Proclamation in 1525 lengthened the list of current pieces by the addition of 'Perpynes'³ and in 1526 of double ducats⁴. Of these the crowns of the sun, French écus au soleil, were the most frequently in use, as may be gauged by the fact that in 1526 Henry VIII issued his crown of the rose on the same standard⁵. By the 1530's foreign coin is not being seized when imported, but only when exported—crowns of the sun in 1535⁶, double ducats in 1538⁷, crowns of the sun in 1539⁸, and both crowns of the sun and double ducats in 1541⁹.

¹ Ruding, *op. cit.*, i, p. 287 and R. W. Cochran-Patrick, *Records of the Coinage of Scotland*, i (1876), p. xci.

² *Calendar of State Papers*, Henry VIII, iii, 2283 and 2685 v.

³ *Calendar of State Papers*, Henry VIII, iv, 1481.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, 2423.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*

⁶ P.R.O., Exchequer Warrants of Issue, E. 404/100.

⁷ P.R.O., E. 404/101.

⁸ P.R.O., Exchequer K. R. Memoranda Rolls, E. 159/318.

⁹ P.R.O., E. 159/319.

I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Alwyn Ruddock for the last four references.

THE ORIGINS OF THE ENGLISH SOVEREIGN AND THE SYMBOLISM OF THE CLOSED CROWN¹

By PHILIP GRIERSON

THE sovereign of Henry VII, a double ryal worth 20s. which was first struck in 1489, was the heaviest gold coin issued up to that time by any English king. It was also amongst the first English coins to show the king wearing what is technically called a closed or arched crown. Neither in conception nor basic design was it original, for a very similar double noble, known as a *réal d'or*, had been struck two years earlier in the Netherlands by Maximilian, king of the Romans, as regent for his son Philip the Handsome.

The purpose of this paper is to discuss three problems raised by the introduction of the new English coin. The first is that of its precise relationship to its Low Country prototype and the light which this throws upon the order of the earliest varieties. The second is that of the history of the closed crown in England and the ways in which its symbolism was interpreted and understood. The third is that of the implications, for the constitutional historian, of the creation of the sovereign. In view of the fact that Henry VII in 1489 issued a coin known as a sovereign on which he is shown wearing a closed crown, which was widely regarded as imperial in character, should one not attribute to this ruler a more prominent role in the formation of the Tudor concept of kingship than recent historians have been prepared to allow? These last two problems lie outside the terms of reference of the pure numismatist, but they are of a type to the understanding of which a study of coinage can sometimes make a major contribution.

I

The sovereign has for so long been regarded as a characteristically English coin that most numismatists seem to have been unaware that, like the type of the groat, it originated in the Low Countries and not in England. Maximilian's *réal d'or* of 1487, which served as the model for Henry VII's sovereign of 1489, is mentioned in none of the standard works on English coins—Ruding, Kenyon, Brooke, Oman—and the relationship between the two escaped the attention both of Lawrence in his study of the coinage of Henry VII² and of the authors of two recent monographs on the sovereign³. Only Mr. Rigold, so far as I am

¹ This paper was originally drafted in 1962, and in a shortened form was read before a meeting of the British Numismatic Society on 28 January 1964. My indebtedness to the kindness of fellow numismatists is considerable. The paper in its early stages derived much help from Mr. Herbert Schneider, who most kindly wrote to me at length on the subjects discussed in the first two sections and whose views, arrived at independently, coincide in all essentials with my own. A subsequent draft was read by Mr. E. J. Winstanley and Mr. W. J. W. Potter, whose study of the coinage of Henry VII had in the meantime begun publication. My indebtedness to their work will be obvious, even though on certain important matters of chronology we have failed to agree. Above all I am grateful to Mr. Ian Stewart,

who discussed the whole problem with me in detail at an early stage and who has greatly improved and clarified the final presentation of my conclusions.

² 'On the coinage of Henry VII', *NC*⁴, xviii (1918), 205–57.

³ Sir Geoffrey Duvée and H. G. Stride, *The history of the gold sovereign* (London, 1962); G. A. Negrioli, 'La moneta detta "Sovrano" o "Sovrana"', *Bollettino del Circolo Numismatico Napoletano*, xxxix (1954), 31–76. The second of these is mainly concerned with the name 'sovereign' as applied to gold coins of England and other European countries between the 16th and the 18th centuries, so its omission of any reference to Maximilian's *réal d'or* can be understood.

aware, has called attention to the dependence of the English sovereign, as well as that of a similar coin struck in Denmark in 1496, on a Low Country prototype.¹

The English coin came into existence as the result of a commission of 28 October 1489 instructing the mint to strike a gold double ryal worth 20s. to be called a sovereign, two sovereigns to be struck in every pound (Tower) of metal—i.e. a proportion of 1 in 11¼—and the design to be according to a print of lead attached to the Letters Patent². Since the original of this document has not survived and the lead impression³ was not copied when it was enrolled, we can only infer its general appearance from the coins themselves. These vary a good deal in detail, but the essential feature of the obverse type is a representation of the king seated facing on a Gothic throne and that of the reverse a large double rose having on it the royal escutcheon. The coins are divided by modern scholars into either four or five classes whose distinguishing characteristics will be considered below.

The fact that the commission envisaged only a small proportion of sovereigns being struck in each lb. of gold has led some scholars to regard them as virtually ceremonial coins, intended for ostentation rather than for use⁴. This was not the case. Multiples of high value, which serve as a store of wealth rather than a medium of exchange, are normally struck in small quantities, but their economic function is nonetheless a real one. Henry VII was conforming to a tendency which was widely though not universally apparent in western Europe in the last decades of the 15th century. In a number of states where the standard coin had hitherto been the ducat, double ducats in fair quantity were being added to the circulating medium. This was notably the case in Italy—Galeazzo Maria Sforza (1466–76) introduced the double ducat at Milan, Ludovico il Moro (1494–1500) struck no single ducats at all, and Pope Alexander VI (1492–1503) made the double ducat a common coin at Rome—and in the Iberian Peninsula, where John II of Portugal (1481–95) introduced a heavy gold coin known as a *justo*, Ferdinand and Isabella inaugurated a double *excelente* in Castile in 1497, and John's successor Manuel the Fortunate issued in 1499 as regular currency a ten-ducat piece known as a *portuguez*. The causes of this tendency were primarily economic, but the phenomenon had its political overtones. If the larger denominations were both a natural response to a generally higher level in prices and a consequence of the increased supply of gold provided by Portuguese exploration in Africa, the fact that they involved the striking of heavier and more splendid coins could be regarded as augmenting the dignity of those responsible for their issue. A double ducat would have meant little in England, since the noble was already twice the weight of the commonest denominations of gold coin in regular use on the continent, but the tendency to double the weight of the standard coin was felt in England as elsewhere and resulted in the sovereign.

The exact number of sovereigns struck during the reign of Henry VII cannot be precisely calculated, since there is a gap of five years in the mint accounts between 1489 and 1494. During the last fifteen years of the reign about 28,000 lbs of gold are known to have been turned into coin⁵,

¹ S. E. Rigold, 'The trail of the Easterlings', *BNJ*, xxvi (1949), 54.

² R. Ruding, *Annals of the coinage of Great Britain*, 3rd ed. (London, 1840), i. 295, whence H. Symonds, 'The documentary evidence for the English royal coinages of Henry VII and Henry VIII', *BNJ*, x (1914), 128; *Calendar of Patent Rolls: Henry VII*, i (A.D. 1485–1494), 319.

³ The reference to a 'print and form' of lead excludes the possibility that only a drawing was involved, and implies that the dies for the first

variety had already been prepared at the time that the commission was issued.

⁴ Cf. A. E. Packer, 'Some notes on the coins of Henry VII', *NC*, xi (1891), 41–7, where the attempt is made to identify the particular occasions on which the several varieties were struck.

⁵ G. C. Brooke and E. Stokes, 'Tables of bullion coined from 1377 to 1550', *NC*, ix (1929), 61–63. The exact figure of 30,810 lbs. is given by the accounts, but this includes the first six months of Henry VIII's reign.

and if one allows about 2,000 lbs.—a high figure—for the missing years and assumes that the ratio of two in the pound as laid down in 1489 was maintained the total of sovereigns struck is likely to have been in the neighbourhood of 60,000. Some idea of the distribution of the early and late classes can be obtained from the figures for the bullion coined, as set out in the accompanying table.

GOLD COINAGE STRUCK UNDER HENRY VII

Period (usually Michaelmas to Michaelmas)		Lbs. of gold coined	Presumed number of sovereigns
Regnal year	Date		
1/2	1485/6	472	None
2/3	1486/7	345	None
3/4	1487/8	404	None
4/5	1488/9	238	None
5/10	1489/94	?	?
10/14	1494/98	3,276	6,552
14/16	1498/1500	1,787	3,574
16/18	1500/02	2,424	4,848
18/19	1502/03	1,272	2,544
19/20	1503/04	1,613	3,226
20/21	1504/05	2,112	4,224
21/22	1505/06	4,247	8,494
22/23	1506/07	3,805	7,610
23/24	1507/08	5,453	10,906
24/1 H.VIII	1508/09	4,921	9,842
		32,369	61,820
		(30,910 lbs. after 1494)	

The number of specimens known today is between twenty and thirty¹, and since over half the gold coinage belongs to the last four years of the reign it is not surprising that the majority of the surviving sovereigns are of the same period. Brooke's Class I is represented, so far as is known, by only three specimens² and his class II by one (BM, ex Sir John Evans), so the possibility cannot be excluded of there having been other varieties which have failed to survive at all.

¹ I have not attempted to make a complete census. There are 9 in the British Museum, 7 in the Ashmolean, and 3 in the Fitzwilliam Museum. There is also in the British Museum one double sovereign and one multiple weighing just short of 800 gr. This does not fit into the 'sovereign' pattern at all—it would be $3\frac{1}{2}$ sovereigns—but was evidently intended as a ten-angel piece. These coins are noted in R. Lloyd Kenyon, *The gold coins of England* (London, 1884), 83, but are attributed to Henry VIII. The striking of such multiples was not provided for in the commission of 1489, but similar multiples, used as *pièces de plaisir* for presentation to persons of rank, occur in several

continental coin series, notably that of Castile, in the 14th and 15th centuries. Ferdinand and Isabella's *pragmatica* of Medina del Campo, which reformed the coinage of Spain in 1497, provided for the occasional striking of multiples of 5, 10, 20 and 50 *excelentes*, but the list was evidently not intended as definitive and the multiples most commonly found are those of 2 and 4 *excelentes*.

² They are (1) British Museum, (2) R. D. Beresford Jones coll., ex R. C. Lockett, IV. 1667 (Glendining 11. x. 56), and (3) H. Schneider coll., ex V. J. E. Ryan, I. 104 (Glendining 28. vi. 50), ex British Museum duplicates.

The *réal d'or*, sometimes called the *réal d'Autriche*¹, the continental prototype of the sovereign, was created by an ordinance of Maximilian of 20 April 1487, followed up in Flanders by an instruction to the master of the Bruges mint of 4 May.² This coin also was a double noble, worth 24 silver *réaux* and struck 17 to the mark. It weighed 229 gr. and so was a trifle lighter than the English sovereign (240 gr.). In each 20 marks of gold one mark was to be struck in *réaux*, so that the proportion was about half that subsequently prescribed for the English sovereign. The design was not laid down in either the ordinance or the mint instruction, but the surviving coins have on the obverse a representation of the King of the Romans seated on a high-backed throne and on the reverse the crowned shield of the Empire. The coin was struck for Guelders, Flanders and Holland, the issues of the three provinces being distinguished by small differences in punctuation and lettering and by the presence, in the cases of Flanders and Holland, of a lys and rosette respectively below the steps of the throne.³ The issue lasted only a short time, the coins being all dated 1487, usually in Roman numerals. A specimen of the Flemish *réal* dated in Arabic numerals has been recorded⁴ and it is possible that these were also employed in Holland before the issue came to an end, for the noble struck in 1496 by Hans of Denmark, which exactly copies the peculiarities of the Holland coins,⁵ has the date in this form. The mint accounts show that 5,931 *réaux* were struck in Guelders;⁶ the numbers for Holland and Flanders are not known. None were struck for Brabant.⁷ Only a single specimen of the *réal* of Guelders is known⁸ and two of that of Flanders⁹, but up to about a dozen *réaux* of Holland are dispersed in various collections¹⁰.

One has only to place the *réal d'or* of Maximilian beside the sovereign of Henry VII for it to be apparent that the one gave rise to the other. Both are double nobles, in each case the heaviest coins to be struck up to that time in their respective countries, and the essential features of their designs are the same. Their obverse type is the king seated facing on a

¹ This was not the official name, but it appears in this form, or as the *grooten reael van Oostenrijk*, in money books of the 16th century.

² Text in L. Deschamps de Pas, 'Essai sur l'histoire monétaire des comtes de Flandre de la maison d'Autriche et classement de leurs monnaies (1482-1556)', *Revue numismatique*, n.s., xiv (1869), 108-9.

³ H. Enno van Gelder and M. Hoc, *Les monnaies des Pays-Bas bourguignons et espagnols, 1434-1713* (Amsterdam, 1960), no. 64.

⁴ The coin is illustrated by Deschamps de Pas, *art. cit.*, pl. XV. 15, from the rubbing of a unique specimen then at the Hague. This specimen passed by exchange in 1872 or 1873 to A. Dewismes (J. van Kuyk, *Geschiedenis van het Koninklijk Kabinet* (The Hague, 1946), 67-8), figured as no. 1985 in the sale catalogue of the Dewismes collection (van Peteghem, Saint-Omer, 22 March 1875), and passed with the whole of this collection to Achille Vernier, whose coins are now in the Musée de Lille. It is no longer in this collection, however, and M. Pierre Bastien, who recently (1959) published the Flemish gold coins there, supposes it to have been among the 157 coins known to have been stolen in 1916.

⁵ H.H. Schou, *Beskrivelske af danske og norske mønter 1448-1814* (Copenhagen, 1926), pl. I, 1496(1). The Danish 'noble' has imitated even the cross-crosslet initial mark and the rosette beneath the throne of Maximilian's Dutch *réal*. Amongst the specimens listed by Schou are a triple noble of 1496, a double-noble of 1502, and 3 silver strikings from

coins dated 1508.

⁶ Van Gelder and Hoc, p. 33.

⁷ The instructions for their issues were sent to the mint of Malines in July 1487, but the accounts of the mint-master Peter Cobbe covering the period between 5 July 1487 and 3 June 1488 report that none had in fact been struck. Cf. F. Verachter, *Documenten pour servir à l'histoire monétaire des Pays-Bas* (Antwerp, 1840), pp. 44 ('In denersten sal doen maeken die meester particulier eenen gouden penninc van xxiiij karaten fyns gouts genoemt Royael'), 46 ('bynnen den tyde deser rekeninghe nyet gemaect'). Cf. A. de Witte, *Histoire monétaire des comtes de Louvain, ducs de Brabant*, II (Antwerp, 1896), 75-77.

⁸ Publ. by T. M. Roest, 'Quelques monnaies inédites de la Gueldre', *Revue belge de numismatique*, vi (1874), 281-3 and pl. XI. 25. The coin is now in the Teyler Museum at Haarlem, with the rest of Roest's collection.

⁹ The Vernier specimen, now lost, and one at Paris published by H. Enno van Gelder, 'Zeldzame Nederlandse munt en het Cabinet des Médailles te Parijs', *Jaarboek voor Munt- en Penningkunde*, xxxvii (1950), 152 and pl. VII.

¹⁰ There are three at the Hague, two in Brussels, and a number in other collections. There are two in England, one in the British Museum and the other in my own collection. The total of about a dozen is based on information kindly given me by Dr. van Gelder.

Gothic throne. Their reverse type is a shield, which in the English case is placed on a rose in order to incorporate a favourite device of the king. There can be no question as to which coin was the earlier. The documentary evidence is conclusive, and the *réal* of Maximilian formed only one element in a whole series of new denominations ordered at the same time while the corresponding coin of Henry VII was added as an afterthought to the existing coinage authorized four years previously in August 1485.

II

Four classes of sovereign were ascribed by Kenyon to Henry VII¹. Lawrence added to these a fifth type, transferring to Henry VII part of the class with a large portcullis below the king's feet which had previously been ascribed in its entirety to Henry VIII.² He also reversed the numbering of Kenyon's first two classes, and of his third and fourth. Brooke³ reduced the total of classes to four by conflating Lawrence's Types 4 and 5, treating the lis initial mark on the obverse as sufficient ground for combining in a single class two groups of coins with markedly different obverses, one having a throne with a high canopy and broad seat and the other a narrow throne and a portcullis below the king's feet. This arose from Brooke's overall classification of the coins of the reign, which was based mainly on the groats, but it involved a curious divergence between the concepts of 'class' and 'type'. Lawrence's reversal of the order of Kenyon's Classes III and IV seems to me fully justified, but as between Classes I and II, I believe Kenyon's order to be correct and that of Lawrence and Brooke to be wrong. Potter and Winstanley follow Brooke's arrangement.

In order to avoid confusion arising out of the conflicting numerical classifications of previous writers, it will be convenient to label the five principal varieties A-E in the order in which they seem to me to have been struck. Table II shows the way in which this system differs from those of Kenyon, Lawrence and Brooke.

II. CLASSIFICATION OF SOVEREIGNS

Class	Principal marks	Previous classifications		
		Kenyon	Lawrence	Brooke
A	Cinquefoil	I	2	II
B	Cross fitchée	II	1	I
C	Dragon	IV	3	III
D	Lis/dragon	III	4	} IV
E	Lis/crosslet, pheon, lis	Henry VIII	5	

Kenyon gives no reason for his arrangement of the coins, but it is evidently based on their general design. The king's throne on Classes A and B is relatively simple, but the field, which in Class A is plain, is in Class B diapered with fleurs-de-lis. Classes C-E have more elaborate thrones and fleurs-de-lis in the field. The design of the rose on the reverse is simple in Class A

¹ *The gold coins of England*, 74-76 (pls. VI-VII, nos. 45-48). *NC*⁴, xviii (1918), 232-6 (pls. X-XI).

² L. A. Lawrence, 'On the coinage of Henry VII', ³ G. C. Brooke, *English coins* (3rd ed. London, 1950), 168.

and the royal escutcheon is crowned, while in the other classes the rose becomes progressively more elaborate and the escutcheon, which is much smaller, is uncrowned. The affinities and differences of Classes A–D, which are the only ones that affect the argument—Class E, with porteullis at the king's feet, has otherwise the same general features as D but is obviously later than it—are set out in Table III and illustrated in the line drawings on pp. 124–5¹.

III. FEATURES OF THE SOVEREIGN, CLASSES A – D

	Classes			
	A	B	C	D
<i>Obverse</i>				
Size of king	large	large	small	small
Throne	simple	simple	elaborate	elaborate
Crown	double arch	double arch	single arch	single arch
Lilies in field	no	yes	yes	yes
Privy mark	cinqfoil	none	dragon	lis
Stops	trefoils	crosses	mullets	saltires
<i>Reverse</i>				
Crown present	yes	no	no	no
Size of shield	large	medium	small	small
Shield with hatching	yes	no	no	no
Roses with hatching	yes	no	no	no
Roses in tressure with leopards and lilies in arches	no	yes	yes	yes
Privy mark	cinqfoil	cross fitchée	dragon	dragon
Stops	trefoils	trefoils	mullets	saltires

The table and illustrations show that while Class A goes with Class B and Class C with Classes D and E, Class B is a good deal closer than Class A to Class C and the natural order of issue, based on typological relationships, would be A, B, and then either C, D or D, C, but should not start B, A. Lawrence's order is in fact based not on types but on privy marks. Class B has as privy mark a cross fitchée, which is found on one class of groats on which the crown is open; he therefore placed it the first in the series, allowing it to mark the transition from the open crown of Henry VII's early years to the closed crown of the majority of the groats of his reign. The privy mark of Class A, a cinqfoil, corresponds to that of an early class of groats with closed crown; he therefore placed it second. The dragon privy marks of Classes C and D have no counterparts on the groats.

There is, then, an apparent contradiction between the order A, B suggested by typological considerations and Lawrence's order B, A based on the privy marks. This contradiction is sharpened when Maximilian's *réal* is taken into consideration, for its design corresponds to the sovereigns of Class A and not to those of Class B. There is the same simple design of throne, the same plain background, the same large crowned shield on the reverse. If the throne alone were concerned, one might be prepared to assume first an elaborate design, then the adoption of a simpler design based on Maximilian's *réal*, and finally a revised elaborate design for the later classes, though it cannot be said that such an arrangement

¹ The *réal* of Maximilian is from Deschamps de Pas, the sovereigns from Kenyon. Photographic illustrations can be easily consulted, e.g. in van

Gelder and Hoc for the *réal* and in Lawrence's or Potter and Winstanley's articles or in Brooke for the sovereigns.

RÉAL AND SOVEREIGNS

OBVERSE TYPES



Maximilian



A



B



C



D



E

REVERSE TYPES



Maximilian



A



B



C, D



E

would look at all probable. But if we take into consideration the design of the reverse, where all the affinities of Class B are with the later classes, it seems to me quite unacceptable.

It seems therefore necessary to query Lawrence's assumption that the privy marks used on the gold were necessarily identical with those used for the silver of the same issue, or rather, since 'issue' is itself a question-begging term, of the silver being struck at the same time. Mint practices tend to change and become less systematic in their application with the passage of time, and rules which can be validly applied in the second half of the 14th century would not necessarily operate in the last decade of the 15th. The fact that the later sovereigns (Classes C and D) have as their privy mark a dragon, which does not appear on the silver at all, is sufficient proof that identity of privy mark was not necessary to the working of the mint. It also carries with it the implication that even where the same marks are found on both gold and silver they are not necessarily related to one another or being used at the same date. They might be so to begin with, but the fact that only two sovereigns were to be struck in each lb. of gold would involve such a disproportionate rate of wear on the dies as between sovereigns and other coins that the mint would soon find itself in difficulties over synchronizing the privy marks in the different denominations. One remedy would be that of recutting the privy marks on the dies, as was done under Henry VIII¹, but it would be simpler to abandon any attempt at adjustment and allow those of the sovereigns to follow a pattern of their own. A superseded privy mark from the silver might well come into use again for such a purpose, and this is what I believe occurred in the case of the cross fitchée.

The typological arguments in favour of Class A preceding Class B seem to me overwhelming, but quite apart from them the contrary argument based on mint marks breaks down on points of detail. It is argued that the cross fitchée should link the earliest sovereign with the groats of Type I². This class of groats, however, has an open crown; Type II groats have a

¹ The obverse die used for the sovereign of the first coinage of Henry VIII had as initial mark a porteullis, which was subsequently overstruck with a sunburst for the second coinage and again later with a fleur-de-lis (Brooke, *op. cit.*, 183). Another example of recutting seems to be the new variety of Class D without an inner circle on the obverse published by Messrs. Winstanley and Potter in *BNJ*, xxii (1963), 152-3 and pl. X.4. They regard it as probably the first variety of the class to be struck, but Mr. Stewart has pointed out to me

that the obverse die seems to be the same as that of their pl. X.5, but with the inner circle removed—traces of it can be seen under the *Henricus* and elsewhere—and various minor changes made. Here the cause for recutting would have been the need for repairing a damaged die, for there is a conspicuous die-flaw bottom left.

² I follow the classification and numbering of the groats used by W. J. W. Potter and E. J. Winstanley, 'The coinage of Henry VII', *BNJ*, xxx (1960-1), 262 ff.

crown with two plain arches; and not till Type III groats come into existence do we find crowns with either one or two jewelled arches corresponding to the crowns of the sovereigns¹. The evidence of the crowns would therefore be in favour of making the earliest sovereigns more or less contemporary with Type III of the groats, thus placing the cinquefoil sovereigns earlier than the cross fitchée ones. Further, since the cinquefoil mint-mark also occurs on the latest groats of Type II, the issue of Class A of the sovereigns can reasonably be supposed to have begun before that of Type II of the groats had ended. Such a supposition is immensely strengthened by the existence of the unique groat in the Hunterian collection with the seated figure of Henry VII instead of a facing bust². Messrs. Potter and Winstanley have shown that its lettering and punctuation place it towards the end of the issue of Type II groats³ while many details of its design (the folds of the robe, the shape of the throne, etc.) link it equally with the sovereigns of Class A. A 'seated figure' type was in fact being experimented with for the groat at the same time as it was being introduced on the new denomination of gold.

Such a conclusion is important for the dating of the groats, of which the order of issue is well established but whose absolute chronology is a matter of surmise. If the earliest class of sovereign is that with cinquefoil (Class A), and this was contemporary with the cinquefoil groats of Type II, variety 5, we can assume that Type II of the groats was nearing its end in the last months of 1489, since variety 5 comes late in its own series and was preceded in Type II—i.e. the groats with plain, double-arched crown—by extensive issues with no privy mark at all. This seems to me more likely than assuming the earliest class of sovereign to have been that with cross fitchée (Class B), contemporary with the cross fitchée groats, for in that case the whole chronology of the groats would have to be moved forward. The last groats (with rose) of Type I (open crown) would have been struck in 1490, the groats of Type II with no privy mark would have dated from later in 1490⁴, and the cinquefoil groats of Type II could scarcely be earlier than 1491. My belief is rather that when the design of the sovereign was first put forward (autumn 1489), it would have been natural to give it the same mint-mark as the groats of the day. At the same time, an experimental sovereign type was tried for the groat but was not adopted. Subsequently—and probably almost immediately, for only one specimen is known of the cinquefoil sovereign—the decision was taken to use privy marks for the sovereigns—and for the half-sovereigns or ryals⁵—which were different from those used on the silver. There followed the sovereign with cross fitchée of Class B and subsequently those with dragons of Classes C and D.

¹ The crowns on the sovereigns of Class A are of two forms, the large one on the reverse having both arches jewelled while the small one on the obverse has only the outer arch jewelled.

² Potter and Winstanley, *art. cit.*, 276 and pl. xx. 7.

³ Potter and Winstanley compare it with their variety no. 5 (out of 7) of the normal Type II groats with the cinquefoil mint-mark (p. 276).

⁴ A further argument against dating the introduction of the closed crown on English coinage as late as 1490 is the fact that the same symbol had already appeared on the last Scottish groats of James III, who died on 11 July 1488. Cf. I. H. Stewart, *The Scottish coinage* (London, 1955), 65–7. Though this is not conclusive—these groats of James III are those with an actual portrait and not an impersonal

representation of the monarch—it is at least a pointer to the dating of the changes that were taking place. Under James IV (1488–1513) a closed crown of the English type became an accepted part of the Scottish regalia. Cf. the portraits of James IV and his wife Margaret Tudor in a MS of c. 1500 reproduced in Lord Twining, *A History of the Crown Jewels of Europe* (London, 1960), pl. 205 c.d.

⁵ The mint indenture of the king with Sir Giles Dawbeney and Bartholomew Reed of 4 November 1485 had provided for the striking of ryals, half-ryals, and quarter-ryals, as well as for the angel and angelot, but none of the first group of coins are known and probably none were struck. The only known ryals of the reign—about ten are recorded, all from the same dies—have cross fitchée privy mark and correspond to Class B of the sovereign.

III

The sovereign of Henry VII, like the *réal d'or* of Maximilian, shows the ruler wearing a closed or arched crown, but on both coins this is a quite secondary feature. It is on the groats of Henry VII that the form attributed to this particular symbol of majesty plays a really conspicuous role. For nearly a century and a half, since the introduction of the groat under Edward III, the king's crown had been an open one, as it was on the pennies and as it had been on the earlier groats of Edward I. This traditional type of crown was retained on the earliest groats of Henry VII. Then it was suddenly abandoned in favour of a quite different type. At first the new crown was shown with two plain arches meeting in a point below the central orb and cross. Later there were designs on which only the outer arch was jewelled—this perhaps represents an attempt to show two of the arches in perspective, since one is seeing their plain undersides—or, as on Class C of the sovereigns, only the frontal arch and the two side arches were shown; the fourth one, which would be invisible to the spectator, is suppressed. Later still, on both sovereigns and groats and on other denominations where a closed crown was used, the whole design was simplified to a single jewelled arch reaching from one side of the crown to the other. Although in the 16th century there seems to have been a good deal of variation in the forms of crown actually worn by successive rulers¹, the fact that the single jewelled arch can be shown extending from left to right on the facing-bust groats of Henry VII and from front to back on his profile groats implies that these and other variations cannot be taken too literally as representations of real crowns. They are rather divergent attempts to show a difficult detail on a very small scale.

Before proceeding further it will be as well to explain very briefly what is involved in the difference between an open and a closed or arched crown, since the latter term is used to cover two types of crown which are in fact distinct but of which the implications of one were very commonly held to apply to the other.

An open crown is one which consists basically of a golden circlet elaborately worked and decorated with precious stones or enamels. Whether it is made in one piece or consists of a series of separate plaques soldered or even hinged together is immaterial; its essential feature is that it is not 'closed' above with anything crossing the top of the head. The medieval French crown was of this type. In opposition to it was the closed crown, which had bands of metal crossing usually from one side to the other and from back to front so that they met in the middle, at the top of the head. These bands of metal might be broad and relatively flat, as in the Hungarian crown of St. Stephen, or narrower and higher, as in the Bohemian crown of St. Wenceslas, or very slender, with the arches depressed in the centre, as in most modern crowns². These arches are in part utilitarian, since they serve to strengthen the crown, in part decorative, since they are normally made to serve as supports for a central cross or jewel, and in part traditional, since a contributing element to the evolution of many medieval crowns was the structure of the early Germanic helmet, which had metal bands crossing at the top of the head to protect the skull from injury.

¹ Cf. Twining, *op. cit.* 138–40. This sumptuous and comprehensive work is a mine of information, but the details sometimes have to be treated with caution. More scholarly, and going into much greater detail for the medieval period, are vols. ii and iii of P. E. Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik. Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte vom dritten bis zum sechzehnten Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart,

1955–6).

² Twining, *op. cit.*, 138, distinguishes between this last shape as that of 'royal' arched crowns, 'imperial' arched crowns being those on which the arches curve continuously upwards to a central apex. This is a fair approximation to conventional usage, though the Nuremberg crown of the Holy Roman Empire did not correspond to either pattern.

A special case of a closed crown was that of the Holy Roman Empire. This was originally an open crown, made up of eight separate richly jewelled sections incorporating four magnificent enamelled plaques, but the Emperor Conrad II (1024-39) had added to it a kind of jewelled crest, running from front to back, to which he had thoughtfully attached his name, *CHIVONRADVS DEI GRATIA ROMANORV(M) IMPERATOR AVG(VSTVS)*¹. This jewelled crest was so closely associated with the notion of the imperial office that when the Hapsburgs made a new imperial crown in the 15th century in which they incorporated two large cusps resembling a mitre seen sideways, they provided it with a similar crest running from front to back and topped with a central jewel. The existing Hapsburg imperial crown of this mitre type dates from 1602, when it was made for the Emperor Rudolf II, but it replaced an older one which is known to us from earlier designs, as for example the portrait of Maximilian I by Albrecht Dürer². Strictly speaking, therefore, the only type of crown whose characteristics can properly be regarded as imperial was one with a single crest running from front to back. In practice, in countries unfamiliar with closed crowns at all, any kind of closed crown was assumed to be imperial in character.

The crowns worn by Anglo-Saxon and Norman kings, as shown on coins and in illuminated manuscripts, were sometimes of the closed variety, but their varying designs reflected the whim of the engraver or illuminator rather than the object depicted and it is impossible to say how closely they correspond to reality.³ The crowns of the 13th and 14th centuries were like their French counterparts of the open type, having the form of a gold band ornamented with fleurs-de-lis and precious stones. The only one that has survived into modern times is the funeral crown of Edward I, but their general aspect is known from plenty of contemporary illustrations. It is true that descriptions and illustrations, as Schramm, the greatest living authority on *Staatssymbolik*, has justifiably pointed out⁴, must be used with caution. On the one hand old designs may be repeated from force of habit long after they have ceased to represent reality, on the other there will often be an element of fantasy in the work of the artist, particularly when he was not in a position to know the details of the objects he was trying to represent. This reserve must apply even where reproductions in sculpture or metal-work are available, though here the danger of inaccurate representation arising out of the technical incompetence of the artist is probably less. But the evidence is sufficiently abundant and clear for there to be no doubt that the English crown of the 13th and 14th centuries was of the open variety.

No English crowns of the 15th century have survived, and for our knowledge of their appearance we have to rely on contemporary descriptions and illustrations. The accounts of the royal household are less helpful than one might expect, though they often describe the precious stones used to ornament the crowns—for the court jewellers were constantly

¹ Twining, *op. cit.*, 329 ff.; fuller details and bibliography in H. Fillitz, *Die Insignien und Kleinodien des Heiligen Römischen Reiches* (Vienna-Munich, 1954), 15-21, 50-55. This crown, which was formerly amongst the imperial insignia kept at Nuremberg, is now in the Imperial Schatzkammer at Vienna. The common view that it represented the imperial crown *par excellence*, from the Ottonian period onwards, is incorrect, a wide variety of crowns having been used by different emperors. Cf. Twining, *op. cit.*, 307 ff., and on the role of this particular crown the article of A. Huyskens, 'Die Aachener Krone der Goldenen Bulle, das Symbol

des alten deutschen Reiches', *Deutsches Archiv f. Geschichte des Mittelalters*, ii (1938), 401-97.

² Twining, *op. cit.*, 9-10, and H. Fillitz, *Die österreichische Kaiserkrone* (Vienna-Munich, 1959). On the frequent confusion between this crown and the Ottonian crown at Nuremberg cf. E. Holzmair, 'Nürnberger und Rudolfinische Kaiserkrone im Spiegel der Numismatik', *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, lxxii (1947), 90-100.

³ The best accounts of English medieval crowns are in Twining, *op. cit.*, 99 ff., and Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen*, ii. 392-5, iii. 755-68, 1035-46.

⁴ Schramm, *op. cit.*, iii. 1041.

being called upon to repair or 'modernize' these or even break them up — and record their value, the latter being essential in view of the frequency with which royal crowns were called upon to serve as security for royal debts. Schramm's view is that the closed crown was introduced in England under Henry VII, and he discounts the evidence for its earlier use on the ground that the illustrations and descriptions are not necessarily reliable. English writers on the regalia tend to date its introduction a good deal earlier, ascribing it usually to Edward IV or Henry VI, or even to Henry IV.

Schramm's view would seem to find confirmation in the evidence of Henry's coinage, but it is irreconcilable with the testimony of other 15th century sources. It is true that these do not follow a consistent time-table, but a consistent time-table is not to be expected. The household accounts show that a monarch normally possessed a number of crowns varying appreciably in design, and that no one of them was considered so important that it was the only one which the king would be necessarily represented as wearing. Different types of object on which the king traditionally figured would in any case be in varying degrees resistant to change; coins and seals might reasonably be expected to alter more slowly than funeral effigies or illustrations in illuminated manuscripts. On small-scale representations the growing custom of wearing the so-called 'cap of maintenance' inside the crown¹ sometimes makes it difficult to determine with certainty whether a particular crown is intended to be closed or not. The general tenor of the evidence, however, is to the effect that a closed crown was in general though not exclusive use throughout the 15th century, and that it achieved self-consciousness, so to speak, not as an imitation of the imperial crown but as a crown of a type distinct from that worn by the kings of France.

The earliest clear evidence for the use of a closed crown in England is on the occasion of the coronation of Henry IV on 13 October 1399. Froissart, who was writing at the time and seems to have had his account from an eye-witness, refers to the 'arched' crown of St. Edward which was placed on the king's head by the archbishop of Canterbury². In a representation of the coronation of Henry V in the chantry chapel at Westminster the crown there used is also shown as 'arched' and surmounted by an orb and cross³. Though the chapel dates from the reign of Henry VI and its testimony cannot be regarded as contemporary, the fact that its evidence for the use of an arched crown at the coronation of 1413 bears out that of Froissart (who is contemporary) for the use of one at the coronation of Henry IV justifies us in believing that a closed crown was used on this occasion and consequently existed at least as early as 1399. Since Henry IV is shown wearing a magnificent open crown on his tomb effigy in the Abbey⁴, however, it is clear that the crown used at the coronation was not yet in any way regarded as determining the typical form of the royal crown in England.

¹ See the excursus by W. H. St. John Hope, 'The Cap of Maintenance', in L. G. Wickham Legg, *English coronation records* (Westminster, 1901), lxxxii-lxxxviii. This fur-lined cap, the precursor of the velvet lining of the modern crown, came into use in the middle of the 14th century. For continental counterparts cf. Schramm, *op. cit.*, iii, 1042, n. 3.

² Jean Froissart, *Chroniques*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, xvi (Brussels, 1872), 207-8: 'Et puis fut apportée la couronne saint Édouard, et estoit laditte couronne archie en trois (*leg. croix*), et fut béneve, et puis luy assist ledit archevesque sur le chief'. The emendation to *croix* is justified both by

the sense — the four supports of the central orb and cross made a cross — and by the reading (*archie en croix*) in the later 15th century chronicle of Jehan de Waurin, who copies Froissart verbally (*Recueil des croniques*, iv, 5, 1; ed. W. Hardy, ii (Rolls Series, London, 1868), 6).

³ Twining, *op. cit.*, pl. 46c; better in M. R. Holmes, 'The crowns of England', *Archaeologia*, lxxxvi (1937), pl. XV, fig. 2.

⁴ Schramm, *op. cit.*, pl. 113, fig. 149. The accompanying effigy of Queen Joan, not shown in his illustration, bears a similar crown.

Whether Froissart is correct in his assertion that the closed crown used in 1399 was the crown of St. Edward is a matter on which those writers who have accepted the essential veracity of his account have held divergent opinions and which is perhaps incapable of solution¹. It is quite conceivable that a crown going back to late Anglo-Saxon times—or to Norman times if its supposed connection with the Confessor be regarded as mythical—might have been of the arched type. It has also been suggested that the crown might have been that once owned by the Emperor Henry V and brought to England by his widow, the Empress Matilda; this famous crown is referred to several times in chronicles and inventories of the 12th century and survived at least into the 13th century. It is difficult to believe, however, that if either of these crowns had been 'closed' and in use during the 13th and 14th centuries there would have been no representation of them during this long period. A more probable solution is that a new crown was made during the reign of Richard II²—if it were used at Henry IV's coronation it must have already been in existence before that date, and it is natural to identify it with the crown which Richard handed over to his successor in the pathetic scene of his abdication—under the influence of Anne of Bohemia, who was the daughter of the Emperor Charles IV and would thus have been familiar with crowns of the closed type³. Her influence and that of her entourage on the artistic life of this country is well known, and the household accounts show that the court goldsmiths did much work on the crowns during Richard's reign⁴. Though there is no proof one way or the other, the hypothesis of the making of a closed crown under Richard II would account both for its existence in 1399 and for the fact that it is not heard of at any earlier date.

In addition to the closed crown used at his coronation, Henry V had a helmet-crown of the arched type which he wore over his basinet at Agincourt and which was damaged in the fighting. It is mentioned in most of the accounts of the battle, and the French knight St. Rémy, who was present, observes in passing that it was 'circled', which in the context can only mean arched, 'like the imperial crown'⁵. A Book of Arms of the mid 15th century in the British Museum (Harleian MS. 2169) includes a handsome sketch of the king on horseback in full armour wearing such a closed crown over his helmet⁶.

¹ Cf. W. H. St. John Hope, 'The king's coronation ornaments', *The Ancestor*, i (1902), 153-4, and Holmes, *art. cit.*, 79-80. Twining, *op. cit.*, 132 ff., discusses the appearance of St. Edward's crown and concludes that it was arched, but on p. 127 he suggests that the later arched crown was only made in 1416, when Sigismund visited England in order to obtain Henry V's support in his plans for ending the Great Schism, and that its object was that of establishing the equality of the English king with the emperor. If the arched crown were used at the coronations of Henry IV and Henry V, however, this is out of the question, and in any case, as we shall see, there is no evidence of any ideological reason behind the form of the English crown at so early a date.

² This idea is casually put forward by H. D. W. Sitwell, *The Crown Jewels and other regalia in the Tower of London* (London, 1953), 26, only to be abandoned later (pp. 27-8) in favour of the theory that — *pace* Froissart — the arched crown was first definitely used at the coronation of Henry V.

³ Charles IV's Bohemian florins sometimes show him with an arched crown, though on the commoner variety the crown is open (E. Fiala, *Beschreibung d. Sammlung böhmischer Münzen und Medaillen des*

Max Donebauer (Prague, 1888), pl. XVIII, 833, 835). Schramm, *op. cit.*, 1043, n. 2, calls attention to a miniature in the late 14th century MS of the *Chronica Aulae Regiae*, written at the great abbey outside Prague which was closely associated with the kings of Bohemia, in which the mother and the two wives of Charles IV are depicted: the two latter, who had the imperial title, have closed crowns, while his mother Elizabeth, who was only queen of Bohemia, has an open one. The crown shown on the Prager groschen, first struck in 1300, is an open one, the surviving crown of St. Wenceslas, which is closed, dating only from the 14th century. Cf. Twining, *op. cit.*, 64 ff., and Karl Fürst Schwarzenberg, *Die Sankt Wenzels-Krone und die böhmischen Insignien* (Vienna-Munich, 1960).

⁴ Twining, *op. cit.*, 123-5.

⁵ *Chronique de Jean Le Fèvre, seigneur de Saint-Rémy*, i. 69 (ed. F. Morand, i (Paris, 1876), 244): 'une rice couronne d'or serquellée comme imperiale couronne'. Cf. Holmes, *art. cit.*, 80-1. Richard III's crown at Bosworth is another well-known instance of a royal ornament being taken into battle.

⁶ 'A 15th century Book of Arms', *The Ancestor*, iii (1902), plate facing p. 185.

The evidence for the use of a closed crown becomes more plentiful under Henry VI, since the fact that he was king of France as well as England underlined the differences between the emblem of royalty in the two countries. The companion design to that of Henry V just alluded to, one of Henry VI in armour, shows on the helmet the two crowns of England and France superimposed on each other, one closed and the other not¹. The distinction is most clearly brought out in the so-called Warwick MS in the British Museum. This remarkable series of pen-and-ink sketches illustrating the life of Richard Beauchamp, father-in-law of Warwick the Kingmaker, was executed between 1485 and 1490². Henry IV, Henry V, Henry VI and their respective queens are all shown wearing closed crowns, the kings of France wearing open ones³. The contrast is perhaps clearest in the two drawings⁴ showing the double coronation of the infant Henry VI, for as king of England he receives a closed crown, as king of France an open one. It is apparent, however, that the artist did not regard the closed crown as in any way an 'imperial' crown, for the Emperor Sigismund is depicted wearing a triple crown like the *triregno* of the popes⁵. Though the Warwick MS. is not contemporary with the events it records, it shows that the peculiarity of the design of the English crown was very generally recognized in the later 15th century.

The use of the closed crown continued under Edward IV. A Lambeth MS. contains a very beautiful miniature of the king and Elizabeth Woodville, both wearing arched crowns, receiving from Caxton a copy of the first dated book printed in England, *The Dictes or Sayengis of the Philosophres*⁶. It was under Edward that the closed crown first appears on the Great Seal, where it is a striking innovation of the king's second reign (1471-83)⁷. On his earlier seal, captured by Henry VI in October 1470, the crown worn by the king had been open, but the new seal made in 1471 and first known attached to surviving documents of 1472 shows a distinctive closed crown. This was continued on the seals of Richard III⁸. Edward IV, and probably Richard III also, used a different seal, with an open crown, for French affairs⁹, and it was the latter that Henry VII took as the model for his own seal, which shows him wearing an open crown with a cap of maintenance beneath¹⁰. The first seal of Henry VIII was of a similar character¹¹, but his second seal, used between 1532 and 1542¹², and his third seal, used between 1542 and his death in 1547¹³, shows him with a closed crown, as does the even more distinctive design on the gold bulla used for the Treaty of the Field of the Cloth

¹ *Loc. cit.*, fig. on p. 188. Henry VI's charter of 1446 to King's College, Cambridge, has a miniature of the king wearing a closed crown (E. Auerbach, *Tudor artists* (London, 1954), pl. 1c), and the shield above the initial of the charter is surmounted by a magnificent crown on which the arches are shown in great detail.

² *Pageant of the birth, life and death of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, K.G.*, 1389-1439, ed. Viscount Dillon and W. H. St. John Hope (London, 1914). For the date, see E. Maunde Thompson, 'The Pageants of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, commonly called the Warwick MS.', *Burlington Magazine*, i (1903), 151-66. Dugdale wrongly ascribed the work to John Rous.

³ E.g. pls. XXV and XXVIII, which show the contrast very clearly.

⁴ Pls. XLVI, XLVII. That the designs are not to be taken too literally is shown by the way in which queens are shown wearing their crowns in bed, but the difference in crown types is clearly intended as a mark of identification.

⁵ Pls. XXXIV, XXXV; that on pl. XXXIII has

been subsequently tampered with. Presumably the mitre crown alluded to above is what is intended.

⁶ Twining, *op. cit.*, pl. 46.d.

⁷ A. B. and A. Wyon, *The Great Seals of England* (London, 1887), no. 87. Line drawings of a number of crowns of this period, taken from seals and coins, can be conveniently studied in Sir George Young-husband and C. Davenport, *The Crown Jewels of England* (London, 1919), 13-15. Davenport considers that Henry VI's first seal for French affairs (Wyon, no. 79 B) shows him wearing a closed crown, but it has rather the appearance of an open crown worn over the cap of maintenance. Under Edward IV there can be no question that the crowns are closed.

⁸ Wyon, no. 91.

⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 89, attached to the Treaty of Amiens of 1475.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 93.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, no. 97.

¹² *Ibid.*, no. 99.

¹³ *Ibid.*, no. 101.

of Gold in 1527¹. From Henry VIII's reign onwards the closed crown was that invariably used.

IV

The closed crown, as a material object, was thus in regular though not exclusive use by English kings throughout the 15th century: it was not an invention of the first Tudor monarch. Its employment on the coinage by Henry VII, however, brought its design before the public eye in a way that had never been done before, and must have greatly enhanced its significance. It is here that the wider implications of the innovation become apparent, for by the 16th century it had come to be very generally accepted that the closed crown was specifically 'imperial' in character, and the concept of England as an 'empire' is one which, from the Reformation Parliament onwards, played a conspicuous role in the constitutional history of the Tudor period. The Act of Restraint of Appeals of March 1533 (24 Henry VIII c. 12) opens, it has been happily said, with a roll of drums:

'Where by divers sundry old authentic histories and chronicles it is manifestly declared and expressed that this realm of England is an empire, and so hath been accepted in the world, governed by one Supreme Head and King having the dignity and royal estate of the imperial Crown of the same.'

The term 'crown' had long since been extended from the physical emblem of sovereignty to cover the possessions of the monarch and subsequently the state which he ruled², but now it was a question of the 'crowne Imperiall', and the physical form of the crown actually worn by the kings of England played its role in the transition from one to the other.

It is generally believed that either Henry VIII or his minister Thomas Cromwell, who drafted the Act of Restraint of Appeals, was the chief architect of this concept of England³. Although there can be no doubt that Cromwell did much to further it and develop its political implications⁴, he did not originate it. Henry VIII manifested 'imperial' notions very early in his reign, baptizing two of his ships the *Mary Imperial* and the *Henry Imperial* in honour of his sister and himself and dismaying More by the confident assertion that he owed his 'crowne imperiall' to the see of Rome⁵. The connection between the metaphorical sense of the crown imperial and the physical form of the crown is most clearly expressed in a letter

¹ *Ibid.*, no. 103. For a remarkable series of representations of Henry VIII wearing a closed crown see the decorated initials to the Plea Rolls of the King's Bench reproduced in the plates of Miss Auerbach's *Tudor artists*.

² Cf. F. Hartung, *Die Krone als Symbol der monarchischen Herrschaft im ausgehenden Mittelalter (Abhandlungen d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften, Jahrgang 1940. Phil.-hist. Kl., no. 13. Berlin, 1941)*, 6-19, 43-46. This paper has now been reprinted in the volume edited by M. Hellmann, *Corona Regni. Studien über die Krone als Symbol des Staats im späteren Mittelalter*. Weimar, 1961).

³ Cf. especially A. Ogle, *The tragedy of the Lollards' Tower* (Oxford, 1949), 311-13, discussing Cromwell's early drafts of the 'Supplication against the Ordinaries' of 1532. Although in the phrase 'your most excellent Realm and Empire' the last two words are crossed out and do not appear in the final version, the phrase 'imperial jurisdiction' is used later in the document, and Ogle suggests that the elimination of 'and Empire' was due to Henry's uncertainty over

the propriety of its use; only a year later, in the Act of Restraint of Appeals, had he come round to accept his minister's view.

⁴ Cf. G. R. Elton, 'The political creed of Thomas Cromwell', *Trans. of the Royal Historical Society*,⁵ vi (1956), 87-90, and his *England under the Tudors* (London, 1955), 160-2. He had earlier criticized Ogle's slightly exaggerated views; cf. *English Historical Review*, lxxvi (1951), 522 n. 3, and his study of the evolution of the Act of Restraint of Appeals, *Ibid.*, lxiv (1949), 174-97.

⁵ The fullest examination of Henry's views and their origins is in R. Koebner, 'The Imperial Crown of this Realm': Henry VIII, Constantine the Great, and Polydore Vergil', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, xxvi (1953), 29-52. Cf. also the same author's *Empire* (Cambridge, 1961), pp. 52-55, and the more recent discussion by G. L. Harriss, 'Medieval government and statecraft', *Past and Present*, xxv (1963), 9-12, and G. R. Elton, 'The Tudor Revolution: a reply', *Ibid.*, xxix (1964), 28-36.

of Cuthbert Tunstall to Henry of 12 February 1517, pouring cold water on Maximilian's absurd proposal to resign in favour of the English king.

'Oon of the cheffe points in the election off th'emperor, is that he which shall be electyd must be off Germanic, subgiot to [the] Empire; wheras your Grace is not, nor never sithen the Christen faith the kings of England wer subgiot to th'empire. But the Crown of England is an Empire of hitself, mych bettyr then now the Empire of Rome: for which cause your Grace werith a close crown.' (1).

In tracing the antecedents of this concept it is necessary to make a distinction between the actual use of a closed crown in England and the interpretation placed upon it. The form of a cult object and the order and details of a ceremonial are not necessarily determined by the symbolism which later generations or even contemporary observers read into them; they may originate from the taste of an artist or the convenience of a court official and the interpretation be added later. Wickham Legg has noted how the 15th century was prolific in its elucidation of the details of coronation ritual, the explanations tending to increase in number with the passage of time², and, as an American scholar has happily expressed it, 'things royal can never remain long without some meaningful explanation'³.

The history of the closed crown in this country has already been traced, and there seems no reason to suppose that it had at first anything like the significance subsequently attached to it⁴. St. Rémy, a Frenchman, noted in passing its similarity to the imperial crown, but the general impression we get from its representation in English art and references to it in 15th century records is that its chief interest lay in the fact of its being different from the crown of France. As long as English interests abroad were closely bound up with that country this was natural enough. A different situation obtained from 1482 onwards. In that year Maximilian became regent of the Netherlands in the name of his son Philip, and the niceties of imperial symbolism obtruded themselves upon Englishmen in a way impossible at an earlier date. Quite apart from the closer diplomatic contacts which the regency brought about between England and the Empire and growing acquaintance with the imperial emblems now used at the Burgundian court, closed crowns proliferated on the coinage of the Netherlands during the long minority of Philip the Handsome (1482-94). Flemish coins were the normal currency of Calais, and coins from all the provinces would be well known to English merchants through the cloth trade. Sometimes the King of the Romans is shown wearing the crown himself, as on the splendid *réal d'argent* regarding which William Cely wrote anxiously in December 1487 to enquire how acceptable it was in England⁵; sometimes

¹ H. Ellis, *Original letters illustrative of English history* [1st Series], (London, 1824), i. 136 (my italics). For the circumstances in which the letter was written see C. Sturge, *Cuthbert Tunstall* (London, 1938), 44-46.

² Wickham Legg, *English coronation records*, 193. This collection of documents is essential for the use of the crown but contains only occasional allusions to its actual appearance.

³ R. E. Giesey, *The royal funeral ceremony in Renaissance France* (Geneva, 1960), 26. Cf. what he says in his preface, 'Time and time again . . . I have emerged with the conviction that some crucial innovation in the ceremonial first occurred quite haphazardly, although a contemporary chronicler may have tried to give it some plausible explanation *ex post facto*, and later generations when re-enacting it embellished it with clearest symbolism. That is to say, on the level of the events themselves, chance

frequently reigned; but symbolic forms affected the thought about the events, especially when they were consciously repeated at later funerals.' This does not exclude the fact that sometimes the symbolism was thought of first.

⁴ Unless perhaps under Richard II, who, as Dr. Elton has noted, used the term 'empire' in a markedly 'Tudor' fashion (*England under the Tudors*, 161, n. 1). But it is significant that a contemporary record of the coronation of Richard III which assigns symbolical meanings to many of the royal ornaments does not do so to the crown (Wickham Legg, *loc. cit.*).

⁵ The coins are termed 'new grottyts de Meelin'. I owe the reference to Mrs. A. Hanham, who is preparing a new edition of the Cely papers, this particular passage being omitted from H. E. Malden's edition. Malden wrongly identified these 'grotts' as coins of Milan, not of Mufines (Mecheln).

the coin type is itself a crowned escutcheon or crowned initial M in the field. In either case the 'imperial' implications of the closed crown were plain for all to see.

It is in the light of this fact that the creation of the gold sovereign and the sudden extension of the use of the closed crown on the coinage under Henry VII are to be interpreted. The copying of coin types from one country to another is so common that if it stood by itself there would be no justification for attributing any deep significance to Henry's use of Maximilian's *réal* as his model for the sovereign. Even his choice of the term 'sovereign' for its name need not have had any far-reaching implications, since sovereignty was something that went with monarchy and was not peculiar to the imperial office¹. But the use of the closed crown on the groats, whose type had undergone no appreciable change during the preceding century and a half, would have called men's attention to a detail previously regarded as of little moment, and the identity of Henry's crown with that shown on the coins of Maximilian struck in the Netherlands would have underlined its possible 'imperial' implications and prepared the way for the view expressed by Tunstall and very generally held in the 16th century. Henry VII's adoption of the closed crown on his groats and his issue of the first English sovereign in 1489 may consequently be regarded as inconspicuous but not unimportant contributions to the development of the imperial idea in England in the Tudor period. If to most numismatists the introduction of portraiture on some of Henry's later coins forms the most striking feature of his reign, as showing him to be in touch with the new ideas of the Renaissance, the use of the closed crown and the introduction of the sovereign are in their own way of equal or perhaps even greater significance.

¹ It is perhaps worth noting that Maximilian, who had not been crowned by the pope and was technically no more than King of the Romans, contented himself with calling his chief gold coin a *réal d'or*.

The form of the crown worn by the King of the Romans, however, did not differ from that worn by the Emperor.

SOUTHWARK MINT 1545-1551

By C. E. CHALLIS, B.A.

HENRY VIII's experiments in debasement during the early 1540's quickly brought English coin into disrepute, for while coins of the old standards appreciated in value those of the new issue depreciated at the exchanges, sometimes even to the point of being unacceptable.¹ In such circumstances it would have been wise to allow a considerable time for confidence in royal finances to recover, and to weigh carefully the dangers of accelerating inflation before embarking on further debasement. However, by the spring of 1545 the deterioration of the international situation and the increasing financial dilemma of the Crown could brook no such delay². Money was needed urgently and it was essential that debasement, which had already yielded a substantial profit³ and given promise of even better returns in the future, should be exploited to the full. To achieve these ends it was necessary either to continue the existing standards and expand production, or to maintain production and lower the standards, or to combine both possibilities by increasing production and also lowering the standards. It is some measure of the king's great need that the third course was decided upon. The standards were lowered and four new mints were opened: Canterbury, York, Southwark and another at the Tower. Of all these mints Southwark was to become the most important and yet through want of documentary evidence it has remained the least well known. Some of the documents relating to Southwark, such as the original Establishment and the early indentures, may always remain untraced, but fortunately the accounts have now come to light and from them it is possible to suggest at least the main outlines of the mint's brief history⁴.

Established in June 1545, Southwark mint was 'almost directly over against Saint Georges church' in 'a large and most sumptuous house, builded by Charles Brandon late Duke of Suffolk, in the reign of Henry the eight, which was called Suffolke House, but comming afterwarde into the Kinges hands, the same was called Southwarke place⁵.' The site was little more than a mile from the main royal mint at the Tower, and the new mint drew upon the pool of trained staff within the Tower for some of its principal officers. John York, the new under-treasurer, had previously been appointed assay-master at the Tower, and the salary of 100 marks for this office was now annexed to his salary of 100 marks as under-treasurer to give him a total income of 200 marks per annum.⁶ Robert Broke, the comptroller, had been appointed comptroller in the Tower in June 1544, and he continued to exercise this office while fulfilling, unpaid, the duties of comptroller at Southwark⁷. In December 1547

¹ See the increasing number of complaints printed in *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, (L. P. Hen. VIII) e.g., xix, i, nos. 654, 763, 836, 869.

² F. C. Dietz, *English Government Finance 1485-1558*, Illinois, 1920, 155-6.

³ Between 1 June 1544 and 31 March 1545 the king's gross profit was £36,101 18s. 1d, Public Record Office, Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Accounts Various, (K. R., Acc. Var.) 302/27.

⁴ In all Sir John York made three reckonings for his office at Southwark and, although the draft of the last one has been preserved amongst the Treasury papers, the fair copies of this and the

other two accounts do not seem to have survived. Therefore it is indeed fortunate that Sir John York took the unusual step, presumably as a precaution against any further claim being made upon him, of having his accounts enrolled by the Exchequer.

⁵ John Stow, *A Survey of London*, ed. C. L. Kingsford, Oxford 1908, ii, 59.

⁶ L. P. Hen. VIII, xix, i, no. 812/14: Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Memoranda Rolls, (K. R., M.R.) 331 Recorda Trinity, 41 m6.

⁷ L. P. Hen. VIII, xix, i, no. 812/16: K.R., M.R., 331 Rec. Trin. 41 m. 20d.

Broke was replaced at Southwark by Thomas Fletewood, who had worked in the Tower as teller under Sir Martin Bowes.¹ The assay-master, William Knight, the surveyor, Richard Wigmore, the surveyor of the meltings, Dennis Coventry, and the two melters, Bede Bacon and John Monger, were also transferred from the Tower;² and it was to the Tower that York, Knight and Bacon returned, along with five other officers, when Southwark was closed in 1551.³ In addition to these officers, Southwark was planned originally to have a teller, a finer, a clerk, a porter, two blanchers and two labourers, but as the business of the mint grew this staff of fifteen officials was augmented by the office of potter which was held by the finer, another surveyor of the meltings, and four more labourers⁴. At one time it may also have been the intention that the new mint should have its own engraver, because 'John Pralle gravor of Irons' was 'appoyntyd by the sayde late kyng (Henry VIII) to make dyverse experiences of his scyence there.'⁵ The account does not give the date either of Pralle's appointment or of his dismissal and therefore the period of his experiments could fall anywhere between the opening of the mint and Michaelmas 1547, the concluding date of the account in which he is mentioned. However, Pralle cannot have proved satisfactory because he was dismissed with a reward of £16, and throughout the remainder of its brief existence Southwark was without its own individual engraver, dependent, like Canterbury and York, upon the engravers and sinkers of the Tower for its coining irons⁶.

At first it was intended that Southwark, like York and Canterbury, should not produce gold coin, since the first indenture of 16 June 1545 provided only for the coining of silver, 6 oz. fine.⁷ Production began in July, but the financial needs of the Crown grew so desperate in the following month that it was thought necessary, if money were to be had in time, to extend York's commission to include the production of gold coin.⁸ A new commission was

¹ *Ibid.*, 13d; *Calendar of Patent Rolls Edward VI*, (C.P.R. Ed. VI) ii, 133; *L. P. Hen. VIII*, xx, i, no. 620/25.

² See the list of fees in K.R., Acc. Var., 302/27.

³ Compare the list of fees and officials in York's last account for Southwark with that in his account for the Tower mint, K.R., M.R., 331 Rec. Trin. 41 m. 18, 18d; 22, 22d.

⁴ The Establishment of 16 June 1545, laying down the offices, the duties appertaining to them and the other regulations concerning the management of the mint has not survived. Therefore, details of office given here are based upon information given with the lists of fees in York's three accounts for Southwark, K.R., M.R., 331 Rec. Trin. 41m. 6, 6d; 13, 13d, 14; 18, 18d.

⁵ *Ibid.*, m. 6d.

⁶ Since the accounts show quite clearly that Southwark did not employ a permanent salaried engraver and that the single brief experiment in engraving was over by Michaelmas 1547, it is mystifying to find that both extant Southwark indentures contain clauses regulating the employment of engravers and the custody of coining irons. It could be argued that these clauses had originally been included to cover the period of Pralle's experiments and, if he did continue to engrave until Michaelmas 1547, this explanation could account for the wording of the 1547 indenture. However, it seems unlikely that Pralle influenced the drafting of the indentures, because he was certainly not at Southwark after Michaelmas 1547 and yet the 1548 indenture still referred to the employment of

engravers and the custody of irons. Alternatively, it is possible that the clerks who copied out the Southwark indentures were in error in including such clauses, but this also seems unlikely because the same clerks were careful to ensure that the indentures of the non-graving mints, York and Canterbury, did not contain provisions concerning engravers and the custody of irons. Then, too, it seems plausible to argue that, if it were possible for Broke to be comptroller at Southwark, partly to the indentures there but fulfilling his duties unpaid and therefore not figuring amongst the officers salaried at Southwark, could it not also be possible that the Tower engraver spent some time at Southwark, his work there regulated by the indentures but his salary payable at the Tower and therefore not mentioned in the Southwark accounts? Such an explanation is tempting, particularly as the proximity of the Tower and Southwark would certainly have facilitated such an arrangement, but again there are serious objections. Available evidence for earlier and later periods suggests that it was the practice for the engraver to remain in the Tower and to send coining irons prepared there even as far afield as York and Durham. Moreover, if the Tower engraver had worked outside the Tower his activities would have constituted a breach of the Tower indentures, which, as in 1547, stipulated that the engraver was to work only in such a place within the Tower as the under-treasurer should appoint. K.R., Acc. Var., 306/3 nos. 8, 7, 5, 4, 3, 2.

⁷ K.R., M.R., 331 Rec. Trin. 41 m. 2d.

⁸ *L. P. Hen. VIII*, xx, ii, no. 302.

drawn up extending to Southwark the provision in the Tower indenture of 27 March 1545 for the production of gold coin 22 carat fine.¹ On 5 September 1545 Wriothesley sent the commission to the king;² it was approved the next day and actual production began on the fifteenth.³

The denominations of the coins produced under these first two orders are known with reasonable certainty, even though the original indentures have not survived and the accounts reveal nothing other than that testons and groats of the first stamp of the mint were shown to Henry VIII. It is quite clear from numismatic evidence that Southwark produced a full range of gold and the larger silver coins to correspond with those which, according to Lowndes, were ordered at the Tower that year: that is to say, the sovereign and its half and the crown and its half in gold, and the teston, groat, half-groat and penny in silver.⁴ The half-penny and farthing were also mentioned in this Tower indenture but whether or not Southwark participated in the striking of these coins is questionable. The halfpenny, if struck, is not distinguishable from the Tower coin, while examples of the farthing remain unknown even to the Tower.⁵

On 1 April 1546 a new indenture reduced the fineness of gold coin to 20 carat and that of silver to 4 oz.,⁶ and in the following year, 5 April 1547, the indenture confirmed these standards and provided for the production of the sovereign and its half and the crown and its half in gold, and the teston, groat, half-groat, penny, half-penny and farthing in silver.⁷ In tale each pound weight of gold was to contain £30 and each pound weight of silver 48s. All these coins, except the teston and the farthing, were re-ordered at the same fineness and weight by the indenture of 16 February 1548,⁸ and on the same day a commission empowered the officials at Southwark to receive testons and convert them to coin 4 oz. fine, 48s. being cut from each pound weight.⁹

On 24 January 1549, an attempt was made to improve the coinage by raising the standard of gold to 22 carat and ordering silver coins, possibly shillings and sixpences, 8oz. fine.¹⁰ These good intentions were maintained with regard to gold, because the commission of 12 April 1549 confirmed this new standard,¹¹ while that of 18 December 1550 ordered the sovereign, rial, angel and its half at the old standard of 23 carat $3\frac{1}{2}$ grains fine.¹² Hitherto it has been generally accepted that this commission of 1550 was not acted upon and that existing specimens of fine Edwardian sovereigns, angels and angelets should be assigned to the Tower issue of 1551.¹³ The Southwark accounts, however, show quite clearly that whereas there was a small production of gold at Southwark according to the 1550 commission,¹⁴ that part of the commission of 5 October 1551 ordering the sovereign, angel and angelet 23 carat $3\frac{1}{2}$ grains fine was not acted upon during Sir John York's brief term as under-treasurer at the

¹ K.R., M.R., 331 Rec. Trin. 41 m. 2d.

² *L. P. Hen. VIII*, xx, ii 302, but the original makes the point more clearly.

³ K.R., M.R., 331 Rec. Trin. 41 m. 2d; *ibid.* m.3.

⁴ K.R., M.R., 331 Rec. Trin. 41 m. 6d; W. Lowndes, *A report containing an essay for the amendment of the silver coins*, London, 1695, 43-4.

⁵ I am indebted to Mr. Herbert Schneider not only for this numismatic information but also for his most generous and helpful criticism of the paper in general.

⁶ It has not survived but the date is given in the account, K.R., M.R., 331 Rec. Trin. 41 m. 2d.

⁷ K.R., Acc. Var., 306/3 no. 8.

⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 7.

⁹ K.R., M.R., 331 Rec. Trin. 41 m. 7d. 10.

¹⁰ K.R., M.R., 331 Rec. Trin. 41 m. 7d. 8. Again the original indenture has not survived and the accounts do not give the denominations. However, Southwark probably coined shillings and sixpences as did Canterbury at this time, K.R. Acc. Var. 302/25. Certainly each pound weight was to contain 96s. by tale, K.R., M.R., 331 Rec. Trin. 41 m. 10.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, m. 8.

¹² *C.P.R. Ed. VI*, iii, 345.

¹³ H. Symonds, 'The English Coinages of Edward VI,' *British Numismatic Journal*, (BNJ) xi 153-4.

¹⁴ See the table of production p. 140.

Tower.¹ Whether or not this small production of standard gold at Southwark according to the 1550 commission was, in view of its unrealistic rating of £28 16s/lb., ever issued, and to what extent Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, the other under-treasurer party to the commission of 5 October 1551, succeeded in fulfilling all its provisions and produced standard gold at the Tower are questions which in the absence of further documentary evidence, particularly the accounts of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, the numismatist alone must answer. Clearly, however, some doubt must now exist as to whether all extant specimens of Edwardian standard gold should be assigned to the Tower. In contrast to this improvement, however, it was thought necessary, in face of the deteriorating financial position of the Crown, to embark upon fresh exploitation of the silver standard. The limited production of 8 oz. silver made entirely from converted testons² was superseded in April 1549 by an order for shillings 6 oz. fine.³ In the following February a commission empowered the officers of Southwark to receive up to £4,000 base testons and to recoin them into groats, half-groats, pence and half-pence at 4 oz. fine and 48s. to the pound weight.⁴ Finally, on 14 April 1551, silver shillings 3 oz. fine were ordered, thus far the lowest standard during the debasement.⁵ Production of this 3 oz. fine coin was divided fairly evenly between Southwark and the Tower, and, although he was not officially under-treasurer at the Tower until 1 October 1551⁶ and was unable to claim a fee for the exercise of this office until then,⁷ Sir John York supervised production at the Tower through a deputy⁸ and was accountable for production there as well as at Southwark.

This last desperate bout of debasement by which the boy king had imagined 'the debt of the Realm might be payed, the Country defended from any sudden Attempt, and the Coin amended,'⁹ could not solve the financial problems of the Crown. On the contrary, it proved quite conclusively that reform of the currency was essential if the finances of the government were to regain the stability of former years. Deliberations on how this reform could be carried through went on throughout September 1551¹⁰ and finally, on 5 October 1551, a new indenture provided for the coinage of gold at 23 carat 3½ grains fine and 22 carat fine, and silver at 11 oz. 1 dwt. fine.¹¹ Southwark produced no part of this new coinage, however, because reform, embodying a return to fine standards for the larger coins and the controlled production of the smaller debased silver coins, implicitly denied the principle of mass-production for royal profit, the very reason why Southwark and the other mints had been established. Actual production at Southwark ceased in July 1551;¹² in August Sir Edmund Pekham and Sir John York were ordered 'to cleanse the howse of Southworke Place and to repayre it, leaveng it in as goode astate as thei founde it',¹³ and by 1 October 1551 Sir John York and the other officials were at their posts at the Tower mint¹⁴.

¹ Sir John York was only officially under-treasurer at the Tower for six months, from Michaelmas 1551 to 31 March 1552 and the account for this term of office was enrolled by the Exchequer along with his accounts for Southwark, K.R., M.R., 331 Rec. Trin. 41 m. 21-3. Although no angel gold was produced at this time the rest of the 1551 commission was acted upon, 109 lbs. of crown gold and 13,880 lbs. of silver 11 oz. 1 dwt. fine being produced.

² K.R., M.R., 331 Rec. Trin. 41 m. 10, 10d.

³ *Ibid.*, m. 8.

⁴ *C.P.R. Ed. VI*, iii, 348.

⁵ K.R., M.R., 331 Rec. Trin. 41 m. 15.

⁶ *Ibid.*, m. 21.

⁷ Treasury, Miscellanea Various, 190 no. 5, on this,

a draft of York's third account, his claim to six months' fee for being under-treasurer of the Tower was disallowed by the auditor.

⁸ K.R., M.R., 331 Rec. Trin. 41 m. 20d.

⁹ *The Journal of King Edward's Reign*, Clarendon Historical Society, Edinburgh, 1884, 33.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 44-6.

¹¹ British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, 18,759 f. 69. The details were given by H. Symonds, 'The English Coinages of Edward VI,' *BNJ*, xi, 152-153.

¹² K.R., M.R., 331 Rec. Trin. 41 m. 16, 16d.

¹³ *Acts of the Privy Council*, New Series, iii, 327.

¹⁴ This was the date on which York's last account, as under-treasurer for the Tower only, began.

In the beginning Southwark had been planned, like York and Canterbury, purely as a silver-producing mint and, even after the privilege of minting gold had been granted to it, enjoyed powers no greater than those given previously to the mint at the Tower under Thomas Knight or subsequently to the mints at Bristol or Durham House. Nevertheless, the available evidence suggests that throughout these crucial years of debasement Southwark had enjoyed a prosperity and rising importance unknown by any other mint except the main mint in the Tower under Sir Martin Bowes.¹ Certainly Southwark stayed open longer than any other provincial mint except York, and on the last comparable occasion, that is to say during the production of shillings 3 oz. fine, output at Southwark even exceeded the 22,430 lbs. 4½ ozs. of coin produced at the main mint at the Tower.²

* My thanks are due to Dr. P. H. Ramsey for reading this paper.

TABLES OF PRODUCTION AT SOUTHWARK MINT 1545-1551.

(1) SILVER COIN.

<i>Began</i>	<i>Period of Production*</i>		<i>Fineness</i>		<i>Weight</i>	
	<i>Ended</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>ozs. dw.</i>		<i>lbs. ozs.</i>	
1 vii 1545	31 iii 1546		6	0	40,853	0
1 iv 1546	31 i 1549	Ap., Ju., Jly., 1547, Ap., Aug. 1548	4	0	95,943	0
1 x 1549	31 iii 1551	Jan. 1550	6	0	60,480	6
1 iv 1551	31 vii 1551		3	0	25,613	9¼
Total					222,890	3¼

(2) CONVERSION OF TESTONS.

<i>Began</i>	<i>Period of Production*</i>		<i>Fineness</i>		<i>Weight</i>	
	<i>Ended</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>ozs. dw.</i>		<i>lbs. ozs.</i>	
1 iv 1548	31 vii 1549	May-Dec. 1548, Feb., Ap., Ju. 1549.	4	0	19,582	6
1 ii 1549	28 ii 1549		8	0	5,089	7¼
1 iv 1549	30 ix 1549	May	6	0	21,157	7¾
1 v 1550	31 iii 1551	Ju., 1550-Feb. 1551.	4	0	1,999	5¼
Total					47,829	2¼

*All dates are inclusive.

¹ A detailed comparison of the production of the mints is not yet possible because some of the accounts are still missing. However, it seems probable that Canterbury (production of silver coin,

98,129 lbs. 3½ ozs., and conversion of testons, 26,858 lbs. 9 ozs., K.R., Acc. Var., 302/25.) was the largest provincial producer next to Southwark.

² K.R., M.R., Rec. Trin. 41 m. 16, 16d.

(3) GOLD COIN.

		<i>Period of Production*</i>		<i>Fineness</i>		<i>Weight</i>	
<i>Began</i>	<i>Ended</i>	<i>None</i>		<i>ca.</i>	<i>g.</i>	<i>lbs.</i>	<i>ozs.</i>
15 ix 1545	31 iii 1546			22	0	3,225	7
1 iv 1546	31 xii 1548	Dec. 1546,		20	0	8,832	10
		Jan., Mar., Ap. 1547					
1 i 1549	31 xii 1550	Ju., Jly., Oct. 1549, Jan.,		22	0	841	0
		Ap., Jly., Oct., Nov. 1550.					
1 i 1551	30 vi 1551	Feb., Ap., May 1551		23	3½	96	5¾
Total						12,995	10¾

*All dates are inclusive.

THE ONLY GOLD COINS ISSUED IN IRELAND 1646

By WILLIAM O'SULLIVAN, M.A., D.ECON.SC.

ONE of the groups of emergency coins struck and issued in Ireland following the rebellion of 1641 is known as Inchiquin Money. The term is applied to the series of anonymous coins of gold and silver of varying and irregular shapes struck on plate and marked with the weight and/or the value of the particular denomination and having no dates, legends or symbols indicating when or under what authority they were issued. Of the series there were two denominations struck in gold known as the double pistole and the pistole. Seven denominations were struck in silver. These were the crown, half-crown, shilling, ninepence, sixpence, groat and threepence. There are three varieties of these gold and silver coins;

- (1) with the weight only stamped on both sides,
- (2) with the weight stamped on one side and the value in pence indicated by annulets on the other,
- (3) with the value only in shillings and pence in roman numerals stamped on both sides.

In the first category all denominations except the threepence are known, the appropriate weights being stamped in pennyweights and grains on both sides. In the second category the ninepence, sixpence, groat and threepence are known, the values being indicated by the number of annulets indicating the value in pence on one side, the weights being struck on the other in the same way as on those of the first category. In the third category the crown and half-crown only are known, the appropriate values being indicated in shillings and pence on both sides by roman numerals. The coins of the third type have also been called 'Dublin Money'. It is not known how the term 'Inchiquin Money' came to be applied to these coins. Aquilla Smith writing in 1860 in the *Journal of the Kilkenny and South East of Ireland Archaeological Society* Vol. III, New series, p. 12, stated that the first use of the term discovered by him was in the catalogue of the auction of Lord Oxford's collection of coins which took place in London in March 1741. However the term came to be used, there now appears to be no justification for its application to this series of coins as it is fairly certain that the then Lord Inchiquin had nothing to do with their issue. Historically they are the most significant of all the emergency issues of coins of this period in Ireland because they include the only gold coins ever issued there under central authority at any time. The denominations struck in gold are now known as the double pistole and pistole. Two specimens of the double pistole have been known to exist and are believed to be in private possession. Possibly up to ten specimens of the pistole exist of which seven are in the collections of the National Museum of Ireland. The double pistole is struck with the weight 8 dwt: 14 gr: on both sides. It has been recorded, though not illustrated, by Nelson in an article, *The Obsidional Money of the Great Rebellion*, published in the *British Numismatic Journal*, Vol. II of 1905. The pistole is struck with the weight 4 dwt. 7 gr. on both sides and is illustrated by him.

Various writers have written from time to time on this Inchiquin Coinage, treating all the coins in both gold and silver as the one group, the general consensus of opinion being that all were struck and issued subsequent to two proclamations issued in Dublin in January

1642. It can now be shown that there is documentary evidence which proves beyond reasonable doubt that the gold coins, the double pistole and the pistole, the only gold coins ever struck and issued in Ireland, were, in fact, issued separately and independently of the silver coins by the authority of the Duke of Ormonde under the terms of two warrants issued from Dublin Castle, the first warrant dated the 29th of July 1646 and the second dated the 1st of February 1646. At this time the old style or Julian calendar in which the new year began on the 25th of March prevailed. Consequently February 1646 is the February after July 1646.

These warrants exist in the Carte Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library in Oxford. The Carte manuscripts were deposited there during the years 1753-4 by Thomas Carte the biographer of James, Duke of Ormonde, who was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from January 1643 until July 1647. In 1865 two commissioners, Reverend C. W. Russell and Mr. J. P. Prendergast, were appointed by the Treasury to examine these manuscripts and select for transcription and publication any official papers contained therein. Their report was published in 1871 for the Stationery Office and gives in full, in pp. 74-5, transcripts of the two warrants authorising the issuing of the gold coins.

(1) *Warrant dated 29th of July 1646*

Whereas the extreame necessity of the sould^{rs} in the citty of Dublin & other guarrisons neere adjacent is extraordinary great, & wee, willing to sustaine their present indigencyes, having taken into o^r tender comiserac^on their greovous distresses, and haveing in o^r custody some bullion of gould being of diverse uncertaine values, have thought good that it should be moulten downe together to make thereof certaine peeces or pledges for the releefe of the s^d distresses of the sould^{rs}; and therefore have required & commaunded & by these presents doe require & commaund Peter Vaneynhoven and Gilbert Tongues of the citty of Dublin, gouldsmiths, to take the said gould into their custody & the same to melt downe (& noe other of any othermens), & the same see melted downe & bring unto a standard of 19 carotts & because they want materials heere for the exact tryail thereof, wee doe allowe unto them the remedy of two graines under or over in the finenesse, & the same being brought unto that finenesse, to cutt one into peeces or pledges, the one sort weighting eight peny weight & fourteene graines & the other sorte weighing four peny weight seven graines, or in each peece wthin two graines under or over for the remedy in cutting & they shall stampe on every peece the said weight thereof in figures: and the said Peter & Gilbert shall receive for their labour twelve pence & out of every twenty shill^l worth of bullion of gould by them wrought, And moreover y^e said Peter & Gilbert shall by these presents have power to call any other workmen gouldsmiths for the speedy expediting of the s^d work, giving them allowance for their worke. All w^{ch} faile not to do upon yo^r perill, and for see doing this shalbee yo^r sufficient warrant. Dated und. o^r hand & seale at his Maj^{ties} Castle of Dublin, this 29 of July, anno Domⁱ 1646. (clxiv. p. 221.)

(2) *Warrant dated 1st February, 1646*

Whereas the extreame necessity of the inhabitants of this citty of Dublin & the guarrisons neere adjacent have been & are such as they have been forced to coin their plate, & now as their last refuge are enforced to make away the gold rings, chains, & broken gold they have left, the w^{ch} if they be enforced to sell to merchants they will be carried away into other countreys, to the great loss of their respective owners & the exhausting the treasure of the kingdom; wee being humbly moved in prevenc^on hereof & for the publlek good that they who have any such rings & may have some small pledges, rings, &c., may have some small pledges made thereof, such as wee were induced lately to cause to be made for the releafe of his Maj^{ties} armye, doe hereby authorize Peter Vaneynhoven & Gilbert Tongues of Dublin, gouldsmiths, to receive from the parties that shall voluntarily bring them any gold of that kind in specie & melt it down & cutt & stampe itt into the like pledges as for weight as they lately made for the use aforesaid, & for alloy betwixt 20 & 22 carotts, the parties respectively paying them for their labour as we formerly allowed to them. Given, &c., 1 Feb. 1646. (clxiv. p. 360).

There can be no doubt that the 'pieces or pledges, the one sort weighing eight peny weight and fourteene graines and the other sorte weighing four peny weight seven graines' are the gold coins said to be of the Inchiquin series and known as the double pistole and the pistole.

The weights specified are found stamped on all extant specimens of these two coins, and are in accordance with the instructions in the warrant as indicated by the words '& they shall stamp on every peece the said weight thereof in figures'. The standard of the metal in the coins authorized to be struck by the first warrant was to be 19 carats fine which meant that 19 parts out of 24 or about 79 per cent of the metal used had to be fine gold. The standard for the coins to be struck pursuant to the second warrant was higher and was prescribed as from 20 to 22 carats, meaning approximately 83 to 92 per cent fine gold. The coins authorized by the first warrant were to be used for payment to the army and those authorized by the second warrant were to be given to the owners of the jewellery or other gold articles brought in, after payment of 12 pence minting fee for every 20 shillings worth of gold had been made to the two named goldsmiths commissioned to make the coins. The text of the first warrant stated that the gold being used had been in custody for some time, 'and haveing in our custody some bullion of gold being of diverse uncertaine values.' The text of the second warrant indicated that it was to provide facilities for persons having gold articles to turn them into coin but did not compel the surrender of such gold articles. It is not known why those particular weights of 8 dwt. 14 gr. or 206 grains and the half of that amount i.e. 4 dwt. 7 gr. or 103 grains were chosen as units of weight for the coins as they do not tie up in any way with the weight of any of the English gold coins at that time.

The two goldsmiths named in the warrants are of particular interest as Gilbert Tongues, or Tonques and Peter Vaneyndhoven, also spelt Vandenhoven, Vaneinhoven, Vaneinhoven or Vaneijnhoven, were nominated with others as the first or foundation members of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company in the Charter of Charles I dated the 22nd of December 1637, under which the company was founded. Peter Vaneijnhoven was a warden of the Company in 1639-40 and he and Gilbert Tonques were wardens from 1644 to 1646. Gilbert Tonques was master of the Company in 1646-7. Their names had already occurred in other proclamations concerning the issue of coinage before the date of these warrants in 1646 issuing the gold coins.

To clarify the position of the coins struck in gold in relation to those struck in silver it is necessary to re-examine the sources and the statements of various writers on the subject. As already stated, these writers generally held the view that all those anonymous gold and silver coins (three variants in the silver) which became known as Inchiquin money were one group struck within a limited period of time, subsequent to two proclamations issued in January 1642, three and a half to four years before these warrants of 1646, pursuant to which the gold coins were issued.

The earliest written reference to them is by Edmund Borlace writing in *The Reduction of Ireland to the Crown of England*, pp. 234-5, published in 1675 which was a little over thirty years after and within living memory of the reputed time of issue. He stated:

and money coming in very slow; all people were encouraged by Orders from the Council Board, Dated at the Castle of Dublin, (one on the 5, the later on the 14 of January, 1642) to bring in their plate to be coined which many did; some who in respect of their employment had least reason to do it whilst others secured theirs. At first the Stamp was in this form, nearly with the value of the silver upon it.

He then illustrated one side of a groat or fourpence marked not with the value as might be implied from the text, but with the weight i.e. 1 dr. 6 gr, the letters dr being probably incorrect as the letters usually found in the groat over the figure 1 are dwt. He makes no mention as to whether the plate used in the making of the coins was of gold or of silver.

In another work by Borlace, *The History of the Execrable Irish Rebellion*, p. 106, published five years later in 1680, the author again referred to coinage issued in the year 1642 thus:

The Lords Justices being given to great strait, and left without hopes of Relief from England, and the Inhabitants of Dublin being no longer able to support the Necessity of their Families, and relieve the Souldiers, their Insolencies being high, the State entertain'd a Design of sending the greatest part of the Army (then quarter'd in Dublin) into some Parts distant from that City, where they might live upon the Rebels; and for this end, coin'd their own Plate, encouraging others to the same Advance of the State's service, whereupon (at first) they order'd Pieces of Money marked to their Weight.

Many brought in freely; those indeed who (considering their employment, and what was expected from them) had least reason to do it, whilst others issued only out their Warrants and Receipts, never yet discharged: Yet by the help of what came in, and some supplies out of England, (which had not wholly deserted Ireland) the Army march'd out 2,500 Foot and 500 Horse, under the command of the Marquess of Ormond whose carriage in that Business, and his success at the Battle of Ross, we shall leave to the Lords Justice's and Council's Letter, to the Speaker of the House of Commons in England, the 4th of April 1643.

The letter of this date is then printed in full but contains no reference to the issuing of coinage. It will be noticed that Borlace in his two books made two partly contradictory statements regarding the devices stamped on these coins said to have been issued in 1642. In his first work published in 1675 he stated they were stamped with the value but illustrated a coin struck with the weight and in his second work published in 1680 he stated that they were stamped with the weight. As is known now there are three types (1) with the weight only on both sides (2) with the weight on one side and the value on the other (3) with the value only on both sides. It is probable that the first struck were those stamped with the weight only on both sides and that stamping the value in pence in annulets on the ninepence, sixpence, groat and threepence was a later device to facilitate identification of those smaller coins which could be difficult. In the second work Borlace makes no reference to the metal used in the coinage. Borlace's statements were repeated in substance by Walter Harris writing about 1739 in his revised edition of *The works of Sir James Ware concerning Ireland Revised and Improved*, Vol. 11, p. 218, Dublin Edition 1764-5.

The next writer of note to refer to these coins was Thomas Simon writing in his *Essay towards an Historical account of Irish coins*, p. 47, published in 1749. He stated:

After the most execrable massacre of 1641, the lords justices and council, in order to raise a fund, immediately wanted to maintain an army to suppress the rebels, issued a proclamation, the 14th of January 1642, to encourage his majesty's loyal subjects to bring in their plate for the service of the government which was cheerfully complied with, and the same hastily coined into several kinds of species of different shapes. One kind has only the weight stamped on them, as nineteen penny-weight eight grains, — nine penny weight eight grains — three penny weight twenty grains — one penny weight six grains. Another sort instead of the weight, has only the value, V. for five shillings.

He illustrated, in plate No. 6, one side of a crown and groat of the first type with the weight stamped on both sides; a groat of the second type stamped with the weight on one side and value denoted by four annulets on the other and one side of a crown of the third type which had the value V.s struck on both sides. The weights mentioned above as given by Simon are for the crown, half-crown, shilling and groat but those for the half-crown and shilling are incorrect and should have read nine pennyweight sixteen grains and three pennyweight twenty one grains. He does not mention the existence of any gold coins and it is probable that they were unknown to him at the time. In the Appendix to Simon's work, pp. 118-9, the full text of the proclamation of the 14th of January is given. This shows that there were

in fact two proclamations connected with the bringing in of plate. The first, dated the 5th of January 1642, was directed to the inhabitants of the City and Suburbs of Dublin. The second, dated the 14th of January 1642, which was referred to and given by Simon was directed to the inhabitants of the County of Dublin. The text of the second proclamation of the 14th of January 1642, referred to and recited the first proclamation issued a few days before on the 5th of January. The first proclamation ordered all persons living in Dublin City and Suburbs to deliver up half or more of their plate 'for the relief of the officers of the army'. Compensation was to be given at the rate of five shillings per ounce 'for such plate as is true touch', meaning plate of sterling standard or 92.5 per cent fine silver and pro rata for such plate as was below this standard. It also provided that interest at the rate of 8 per cent would be paid to those who delivered up their plate pending final payment. Having recited thus the terms of the first proclamation the second proclamation of the 14th of January went on to enforce and apply the same provisions to the County of Dublin ordering all persons resident there to deliver up half or more of their plate to William Bladen, alderman and John Pue, one of the sheriffs of Dublin city. The two persons named were empowered to call to their assistance Gilbert Tonques and Peter Vandenhoven who were to view the surrendered plate 'to try the touch' i.e. to assay the plate and assess the compensation to be made to those who surrendered it. Neither proclamation mentions the intention of converting the plate into coin, both being solely concerned with the surrendering of the plate.

The next writer to refer to this coinage was Reverend Rogers Ruding writing about 1810. In his *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain and its Dependencies*, Vol. II p. 271 (2nd Edition) he accepted Simon's statements that all these anonymous silver coins marked with the weight or the weight and value or the value only were issued subsequent to the two proclamations of the 5th and 14th of January 1642.

He illustrated, in the plates, No. XXVII and Supplement VI, the crown, halfcrown, shilling, ninepence, sixpence and groat of the first category with the weight on both sides, the groat and the threepence of second category with the weight on one side and the value in pence expressed in annulets on the other and the crown and halfcrown of the third category with the value in roman numerals on both sides. He made no mention of any gold coins probably because their existence was unknown to him.

Almost thirty years after Ruding a Corkman named John Lindsay wrote a book entitled *A View of the Coinage of Ireland*, published in 1839, in which the coinage is mentioned. He stated, p. 55:

1642. January 14th., a proclamation having issued, encouraging his Majesty's loyal subjects to bring in their plate for the service of the government, it was hastily coined into money.

This coinage which is commonly called the Inchiquin Money, consisted of crowns, halfcrowns, shillings, ninepences, sixpences and groats of irregular shape, with no other type or legend except the weight stamped on them.

He listed the weights correctly and also mentioned that there were groats and threepences with the weight on one side and the annulets on the other and that there were crowns and halfcrowns struck with the values in shillings and pence in roman numerals on both sides. He did not mention gold coins.

In 1860-1 Aquilla Smith, the most notable of Irish workers in monetary history, published an article, *Money of Necessity issued in Ireland in the Reign of Charles the First* published in the *Journal of the Kilkenny and South East of Ireland Archaeological Society*, Vol. III,

N.S., pp. 11–20 and 134–44. In it he examined in detail all the Irish emergency issues during the reign of Charles I. He quoted the two proclamations of the Lords Justices and Council of Ireland, the first dated the 5th of January 1642 directed to all persons living in the city and suburbs of Dublin and the second dated the 14th of January 1642 directed to all persons in the county of Dublin, ordering them to surrender half their plate to be used 'for the present reliefe of the said officers' of the army. He stated that no record had been discovered indicating what type of money was struck from the silver surrendered in accordance with these proclamations. He agreed generally with Simon and quoted Borlace, *Reduction of Ireland*, published in 1675, as the authority that the first coins were struck with the value although Borlace in this work immediately after this statement illustrated a coin struck with the weight, not with the value. Aquilla Smith also stated, p. 16, that two or three gold coins 'stamped on each side 4 dwts. 7 grs. within a double circle' had come to light a few years before. He illustrated one of the gold coins and remarked that the lettering on it very closely resembled that on one of the silver crowns of the first group, also illustrated, which it does. He allocated the gold coins as being part of the first group in which the known silver coins had the weight struck on both sides. This is the first mention of the existence of gold coins struck with the weight 4 dwt: 7 gr. on both sides, and Aquilla Smith did not give or suggest any name or denomination for them.

The next writer to mention the Inchiquin coins was Herbert A. Grueber, the author of the *Handbook of the Coins of Great Britain and Ireland in the British Museum*, published in 1899. He mentioned, on p. 235, the gold coin stamped with

4:dwt

7:gr

on both sides saying that it was called the pistole and stated that two specimens only were known. He included it with the group known as Inchiquin money, with the issue of which he stated Lord Inchiquin was in no way concerned. He stated that this money was struck from plate bought in pursuant to a proclamation of the Lords Justices and Council dated the 5th of January 1642, thus agreeing generally with the statements of Aquilla Smith and the previous writers on the subject. He treated the crown and halfcrown of the third category, which had the value struck in roman numerals on both sides, as a separate issue struck sometime between January 1642 and May 1643 and stated that they were now called 'Dublin money' because they probably were struck in Dublin. Grueber's catalogue was the first authoritative work in which the term pistole was used as the denomination of this gold coin stamped with 4:dwt 7:gr. on both sides. The use of the term was probably by analogy with the last gold coin of the Scottish series struck during the reign of William III of England in 1701. This was known as a pistole and closely approximated the Irish coin in having a weight of 106 grains.

About six years after the publication of Grueber's catalogue a very extensive account of all the English and Irish emergency issues of money during the years following 1641 was written by Dr. Philip Nelson and published in an article entitled *The Obsidional Money of the Great Rebellion* published in the *British Numismatic Journal*, 1905, Vol. II, pp. 291–357. He revealed the existence for the first time of a gold coin struck on both sides with the weight

8 dwt:

14 gr:

within two circles. He called the coin the double pistole and stated that two specimens only were known, but does not mention their location. He described two specimens of the pistole

one of which was stated to have been stamped on both sides with the weight 4 dwt: 6 gr. and the other stamped on both sides with the weight 4 dwt: 7 gr., the latter coin being illustrated. He attributed both these gold coins as part of Inchiquin money stating 'On January 5, 1642-3 An Act empowered Lord Inchiquin, Vice President of Munster, to issue silver coins of various denominations, struck from plate, which the well affected were directed to bring to the mint in Dublin, for which plate five shillings per ounce was offered'. He did not give the number and title of any such Act, but, as the date given by him for it was the 5th of January 1642, one can only presume that what he referred to as an Act was, in fact, the proclamation of this date already mentioned, which was issued by the Lords Justices and Council of Ireland directed to all the residents of the city and suburbs of Dublin ordering them to surrender half their plate. This proclamation contained no mention of Lord Inchiquin. Nelson treated the crown and half-crown of the third category with the value in shillings and pence stamped in roman numerals on both sides as being part of the Inchiquin series, and was in general agreement with the earlier writers on the subject.

The most recent writer to deal with the emergency issues in Ireland during the years following 1641 was F. Wilson Yeates in an article, *The Coinage of Ireland during the Rebellion, 1642-52* published in the *British Numismatic Journal*, Vol. XV, consecutive series, pp.185-223 of 1918-20. This article was written to supplement Nelson's work of a few years earlier and contains several references to it. Yeates treated the three types of Inchiquin coins as one group, issued subsequent to the proclamations of the 5th and 14th of January 1642, but surprisingly made no mention of the gold coins at all. He disagreed with Nelson's statement connecting Lord Inchiquin with the coinage and reclassified all the various issues of emergency money after 1641 with new nomenclatures calling the Inchiquin group of coins, *The Lords Justices' First Issue 1642*, a more logical and correct title than *Inchiquin Money* for the silver coins at least.

In brief these are the contributions by the leading writers on these coins which have been known as Inchiquin Money. It seems reasonable to conclude that the silver coins struck with the weight only and the weight and value shown by annulets were probably struck shortly after the two proclamations of the Lords Justices and Council, the first dated the 5th of January 1642 directed to all persons living in the city and suburbs of Dublin and the second dated the 14th of January 1642 directed to all persons living in the county of Dublin ordering all people who owned plate to surrender half of it for the purpose of providing payment for the army. Borlace's two statements, published in 1675 and 1680, were written within living memory of the events. In spite of the contradictions they do suggest that the plate surrendered was used almost immediately for the making of coins stamped with the weight or the value or with both. The groat of which one side only was stamped with the weight 1 dr. 6 gr. and which is illustrated in his work, is known in both categories, with this weight struck on both sides and with the same weight struck on one side and the value in pence denoted by four annulets on the other. So a certain confusion in reference to weight and value in Borlace's statements is understandable, and in fact strengthens the probability that the coins of the first category struck with the weights and of the second category struck with the weights and values were the striking done shortly after the surrender of the plate. The probability regarding the crown and half-crown struck with the values only,

s d

Vs and II vi

is not so strong, but it seems reasonable to conclude that the striking of the values on the coins at a later stage was to make the coins more easily identifiable.

The reasons for the anonymity, by which is meant the absence of legends or date or the name of the issuing authority on the silver coins issued in 1642 and in the gold coins issued over three years later, is found in the text of the two warrants under which the gold coins were struck and issued. In the first warrant of the 29th of July 1646 the intention is declared of melting gold 'to make thereof certain peeces or pledges for the relief of the sd distresses of the souldrs'. Peter Vaneyndhoven and Gilbert Tonques were authorized to melt down the gold and 'to cutt one into peeces or pledges, the one sort weighing eight peny weight and fourteene graines and the other sort weighing four peny weight seven graines'. In the second warrant of the 1st of February 1646 the intention is declared of facilitating the people of Dublin 'that they who have any such rings & may have some small pledges, rings &c may have some small pledges made thereof'. The same two goldsmiths, Peter Vaneynhoven and Gilbert Tonques, having received the gold were authorized to 'melt it down & cutt & stampe itt into the like pledges as for weight as they lately made for the use aforesaid'.

The significant words here in both instances are 'peeces' and 'pledges', meaning that the articles being struck were not coins of the realm which should be issued under the king's authority and consequently bearing his name and emblems of authority in some form or other. They were merely pieces of the commodity, gold, struck with the weights certifying their weight at the time of striking and by implication their quality, which could be safely accepted by persons engaged in buying or selling at their value as a commodity. They were not and could not be given the status of legal tender as would be given to the coin of the realm struck by royal authority. That this was also the position with the earliest silver coinage is implied by Borlace in *The Reduction of Ireland to the Crown of England*, p. 235, when, after referring to the silver coins minted from the plate brought in subsequent to the proclamations of the 5th and 14th of January 1642, he went on to state, 'Afterwards by the King's Approbation all kinds of pieces from 1d to 5s were in this manner stamped.' He illustrated as a specimen a half-crown struck on one side with the letters CR crowned and on the other with the value in shillings and pence in roman numerals

s. d

II VI

This half-crown belongs to the later series of emergency money known as Ormond Money issued a few months later pursuant to an order of Charles I to the Lords Justices and Council of Ireland, made at Oxford and dated the 20th of May 1643, authorizing a further issue of coins to be struck from plate, to the value of five shillings, half-crowns, twelve-pences, sixpences or of any less value, which several small pieces they shall make of the same weight value and allay, as our moneys now currant in England.' This order directed that the coins to be issued should be stamped on one side with the letters 'C.R. for CAROLUS REX with a crown over those letters and on the other side with the values of the severall pieces respectively'. The Lords Justices and Council of Ireland in a proclamation dated the 8th of July 1643 declared the coinage thus issued to be legal tender and it is interesting to note that the persons commissioned to receive the plate and make it into coins were again Peter Vandenhoven and Gilbert Tonques, goldsmiths, and another named Sir John Veale, Knight. The known denominations thus struck were the crown, half-crown, shilling, sixpence, fourpence, threepence and twopence, all in silver. Ruding, plate XXVII, no. 15, illustrated a penny but no specimen of it is known at present. The coins are easily identifiable as such as they all conform to the terms of the order of the king, having the letters C.R. crowned on one side

and the value on the other. While they are not directly the subject of this work they are distinct in that they were declared legal tender, having been issued by the authority of the king whereas the silver coins stamped with weights and values issued consequent to the proclamations of the Lords Justices and Council of Ireland dated the 5th and 14th of January 1642 had no such status, nor had the later gold coins called the double pistole and pistole, struck pursuant to the warrants of the Duke of Ormond dated the 29th of July and the 1st of February 1646. Thus, the only gold coins struck and issued in Ireland under central authority did not have the status of coins of the realm as they were not legal tender which, in effect, meant that their acceptance by a creditor in payment of debt due was not compulsory.

There are no specimens of the double pistole in the collections of the National Museum of Ireland. There are seven specimens of the pistole in the striking of which five dies were used. Four of these seven coins are struck with the same pair of dies. In two others one of the dies used is that on one side of the four mentioned combined with a new die. The remaining coin is struck from two dies not used in the other six. If consecutive numbers 1 to 5 are given to the five dies, the sequences and combinations can be expressed thus:

- Dies numbered 1 & 2 used in striking 4 coins weighing 4 dwt. $4\frac{1}{2}$ gr., 4 dwt. 2 gr.,
 4 dwt. 7 gr., 4 dwt. 5 gr.
 „ „ 1 & 3 used in striking 2 coins weighing 4 dwt. $7\frac{1}{2}$ gr., 4 dwt. 6 gr.
 „ „ 4 & 5 used in striking 1 coin weighing 4 dwt. 7 gr.



1

2

3

4

5

The following peculiarities in each die enable it to be distinguished from the others.

4: Dw^{tt}:

Die No. 1. Across, 7: gr: within a plain inner and a beaded outer circle. The pellets in colon after 4 are further apart and thicker than those in the other colons. Letter D is shaped like a figure 9 with the terminal of the loop protruding horizontally to right almost touching W and has an arched horizontal terminal to left below as a base. Letters tt are crossed by a long horizontal bar protruding well out on left and slightly on right. The terminal of the loop of the letter G does not protrude to right.

4: Dw^{tt}:

Die No. 2. Across, 7: gr: within a plain inner and a beaded outer circle. The top pellet of colon after 4 is slightly to left of lower. Letter D is shaped like a figure 9 with the terminal of the loop protruding horizontally to right, but finishing farther from the W than in No. 1 and has the horizontal terminal at the base flatter than in No. 1 and turned down on the left. The horizontal bar on the letters tt protrudes less on left than in No. 1 and is thicker and

more curved upwards on left. The terminal of the loop of letter G protrudes to the right. There is a flaw in the die showing a line from the foot of 4 to the colon after 7.

4: Dw^{tt}

Die No. 3. Across, 7: gr within a plain inner and a beaded outer circle. Letter W is shaped like an M with an upturned loop at the end. The horizontal bar crosses the first letter *t* and terminates touching but not crossing, the second *t*. There is no colon after W. There is a serif pointing downwards on left of the horizontal bar of 7 which has a pointed foot. There is no colon after r.

4(: D^{tt}) W:

Die No. 4. Across, 7(:) gr: within a plain inner and a beaded outer circle. Letter W is shaped like a retrograde N and a triangular D ligated. The two dots of the colon after W touch the inner circle and slant downwards to right. The colon after r is under the final limb of W.

The parts within parentheses are not visible because of rubbing and are presumed.

4(:) Dw^{tt};

Die No. 5. Across, 7(: g)r: within a plain inner and a beaded outer circle. Letter W is shaped like a retrograde N and a D with round back ligated. The colon after r is to the right of the final limb of W.

The parts within parentheses are not visible because of rubbing and are presumed.

The seven pistoles in the National Museum of Ireland were acquired thus:

Three coins, two from dies 1 and 2 and one from dies 1 and 3, were found at Derryville, Portarlinton, Co. Laois, on or about the 22nd of March 1946.

Three coins, two from dies 1 and 2 and one from dies 4 and 5, were found at Derryville, Portarlinton, Co. Laois, on the 26th of February 1948.

One coin, from dies 1 and 3, came to the Museum with the Royal Irish Academy collection of coins. There is no record of how it was acquired by the Royal Irish Academy.

HOARD REPORTS: ELIZABETH I—CHARLES I

by J. P. C. KENT

HOLY ISLAND TREASURE TROVE (ELIZABETH I)

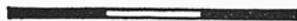
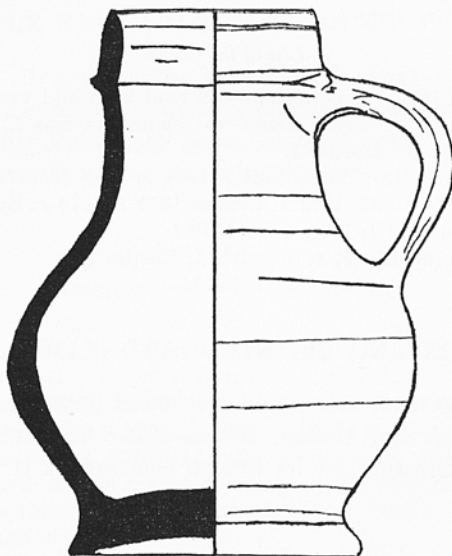
ON 14th September, 1962, 50 silver coins, the latest of 1562, were found at Fiddlers Green, Holy Island, by workmen excavating for a drain on the site of an ancient and derelict cottage. The lime floor of this was encountered at a depth of one foot. Two feet further down was found a cobbled surface, below which was discovered a pottery vessel containing the coins. At an Inquest held on 25th January, 1963, the coins were declared to be Treasure Trove. All were subsequently acquired by the Black Gate Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne.

List of the coins *English (47)*

Mary I (16):	Groats 16.
Philip and Mary (4):	Sixpence (1), 1554, Spanish titles 1. Groats (3). Z REGI 1, Z REGIN 1, ET REGINA 1.
Elizabeth I (27):	Shillings (4). Martlet 4. Sixpences (6). Pheon 1561 4, 1562 (over 1) 2. Groats (16). Lis (REGI, no inner circle) 1, (REGI, with inner circle) 1; Crosslets 8; Martlet 6. Three halfpence (1). Pheon 1562 1.

Scots (3)

Mary (3). Bawbees: Edinburgh, R. SCOTORVM 3.



inches

The Pottery Container

This is a grey stone-ware pitcher with a strap-handle, $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, with an external covering of speckled brown glaze, extending to the inside of the rim. It is probably of Rhineland manufacture.

BUTTINGTON (MONTGOMERY) TREASURE TROVE (ELIZABETH I)

On 25th November, 1955, a man working on a drain in Station Meadow, Buttington, found 11 silver coins in very poor condition, the latest dated 1579, at a depth of about three feet. There was no trace of any container. The find was declared Treasure Trove at an Inquest held on 17th April, 1956. It was returned to the finder Mr. G. R. Broxton.

List of the coins

Mary I:	Groats 2.
Philip and Mary :	Groats 1.
Elizabeth I :	Sixpences : 1575 1; 1579 1.
	Groats: 4.
	Threepences: 1572 2.

MARCH (NORWOOD FARM) HOARD (ELIZABETH I)

During various dates in April and May 1961, children found 42 silver coins, the latest dated 1580, whilst excavating what appears to have been an archaeological site at Long Hill, adjoining Norwood Farm, March (Grid reference TL 418994). The coins were found not to be Treasure Trove, at an Inquest held on 6th September, 1961. It seems likely from the evidence submitted that the coins belonged to a hoard slightly dispersed by cultivation. They were returned to the finders, and were for some time exhibited in the Wisbech Museum.

List of the Coins

Mary I (13):	Groats (13). Pomegranate — all read REGI and VERITA-S 13.
Philip and Mary (6):	Groats (6). ET-NOS 3, Z REG-NO 1, Z REGINA-NOS 2.
Elizabeth I (23):	Shillings (2); Martlet 2.
	Sixpences (15); Pheon 1561 1, 1564 2; Rose 1565 1; Lion 1567 1; Coronet 1567 1; 1509 1; Castle 1572 1; Ermine 1572 1, 1573 1; Eglantine 1575 1, 1577 over 6 2; Cross 1578 1; Long Cross 1580 1.
	Groats (6); Lis (2) 1; Crosslets 3; Martlet 2.

HAYLING ISLAND HOARD (JAMES I)

A group of 2 gold and 30 silver coins, the latest dated 1623/4, has recently been submitted to the Department of Coins and Medals. It was stated to have been found long ago on Hayling Island, and is interesting for its foreign element. It is presumably all or part of a hoard.

*List of the Coins**English (15)*

Elizabeth I (9):	Shillings (3); Woolpack 1; Z 1; uncertain (1582-1602) 1.
	Sixpences (6): Lion 1567 1; Castle 1577 1; uncertain 1582 (early obverse legend) 1, (later obverse legend) 1; Scallop 1586 1; Tun 1592 1.
James I (6):	Half Sovereign; Scallop 1; 'Laurel'; Lis 1.
	Shillings: First Coinage; Lis (2nd bust) 2; Second Coinage (4th bust) Rose 1; Coronet 1.

Scots (1)

James VI: Thirty Shilling piece (English arms) 1.

Irish (4)

James I: Shillings: First Coinage: Bell 1. Martlet 1. Second Coinage; Martlet 1, Rose 1.

French (8)

Henri III (2): $\frac{1}{4}$ écu (Type 1, Lafaurie 973), mint uncertain, 1581 1, ///// 1.
 Henri IV (4): $\frac{1}{4}$ écu, Poitiers (uncertain type, royal titles around cross, Lafaurie —) 1607 1;
 Uncertain mint (Type 2 — Lafaurie 1066) ///// 2.
 $\frac{1}{8}$ écu, Paris or Compiègne (type 1 — Lafaurie 1065) 1.
 Louis XIII: (2): $\frac{1}{4}$ écu, Nantes 1618 1; uncertain mint 1618 1.

Navarrese (4)

Henri III (= IV of
 France): $\frac{1}{4}$ écu 158/// 1.
 Henri IV: $\frac{1}{4}$ écu 1603 1, 1606 1 (Lafaurie 1104).
 Louis XIII: $\frac{1}{4}$ écu 16/// 1.

With these coins were shown a Nuremberg reckoning counter of Wolfgang Laufer (REMVS ET ROMVLVS 1619), a farthing (1838–60) of Victoria, and a cast toy model of a pirate, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches high.

LEEDS (TEMPLE NEWSAM) TREASURE TROVE (CHARLES I)

On 7th June, 1959, 216 silver coins, the latest dated c.1641–3, were found together with the fragments of an earthenware vessel, by two men operating a mechanical scraper at open-cast coal workings adjoining Pontefract Lane. At an Inquest held on 29th July, the find was declared Treasure Trove. It was acquired by the Leeds City Museum.

List of the Coins

[supplied by Leeds City Museum]

Philip and Mary (2): Shillings: 155/// 1; undated 1.
 Elizabeth I (102): Shillings (26). Martlet 5; Crosslets 4; Bell 3; A 3; Crescent 1; Tun 4; Woolpack 3; 2 3
 Sixpences (76). Pheon 1561 3, 1562 3, 1564 4, 1565 2, 156/// 3; Rose 1565 2; Port-
 cullis 1566 2; Coronet 1567 2, 1568 2, 1569 2; Uncertain 156/// 1; Castle 1571 2;
 Ermine 1572 4 157/// 1; Acorn 1573 3; Eglantine 1574 2; 1575 1, 1577 1, Greek
 Cross 1578 5, 157/// 1; Latin Cross 1580 2, 1581 1; Sword 1582 3; Bell 1582 1,
 1583 2; A 1582 1, 1583 3, 1584 1; Scallop 1585 1; Crescent 1587 1; Hand 1590 1;
 Tun 1592 2, 1593 1; Woolpack 1594 2, 1595 1; Key 1595 2, 1596 2; 1 1601 1;
 2 1602 2.
 James I (39): Shillings (25); Thistle 9; Lis 3; Rose 1; Scallop 3; Coronet 4; Bell 1; Rose 1;
 Thistle 1; Lis 2.
 Sixpences (14); Thistle 1603 1, 16/// 2, Lis 1604 2, 1605 1; Rose 1605 5, 16/// 1;
 Scallop 1606 1; Coronet 1608 1.
 Charles I (73): Shillings (60); Feathers 1; Bell 3; Crown 7; Tun 5; Anchor 5; Triangle 16; Star 11;
 Triangle in Circle 12.
 Sixpences (13): Feathers 1; Harp 1; Portcullis 2; Bell 1; Crown 2; Tun 2; Anchor 3;
 Triangle in Circle 1.

GREAT LUMLEY (CO. DURHAM) TREASURE TROVE (CHARLES I)

On 25th September 1950, a ploughman working in a field on the west side of Black Row Farm turned up 678 silver coins. At an Inquest held early in October they were declared Treasure Trove. 84 were acquired by the Sunderland Museum, 594 by the Cathedral Library and Museum, Durham. The bulk of the hoard terminated early in the period 1641–3 but there was a single outlier of 1645–6. This however differed markedly from the remainder in toning, and it is doubtful whether it was part of the original deposit.

*List of the coins**Tower*

- Edward VI (2): Shillings: Y: 1; Tun 1.
 Philip and Mary (3): Shillings: 1555 (Spanish Titles) 1; (English Titles) 1; 15//// (Spanish Titles) 1.
 Elizabeth I (322): Shillings (78): Lis 2 [1 with, 1 without inner circle]; Crosslets 11; Martlet 15; Bell 5; A 6; Scallop 7; Crescent 5; Hand 4; Tun 7; Woolpack 6; Key 4; Z 2; 2 4. Sixpences (244): Pheon 1561 17, 1562 4, 1564 5, 1565 3, 156//// 1; Rose 1565 6; Portcullis 1566 7; Lion 1566 3, 1567 3; Coronet 1567 10, 1568 13, 1569 11, 1570 2, 15//// 1; Castle 1570 5, 1571 10; Ermine 1572 17, 1573 6; 15//// 1; Acorn 1573 6, 1574 2; Eglantine 1573 2, 1574 10, 1575 7, 1577 2; Cross 1578 8, 1579 3; Long Cross 1580 11, 1581 3, 1582 7; Bell 1582 4 [ELIZABETH 3, ELIZAB 1], 1583 3 [ELIZAB]; Uncertain 1583 1 [ELIZAB]; A 1583 2, 1584 5; Scallop 1584 1; 1585 3, 1586 3; Crescent 1587 3; Hand 1590 1. 1591 4, 1592 2; Tun 1592 2, 1593 7; Woolpack 1594 6; Key 1595 2, 1596 2; Z 1601 2; 2 1602 4.
- James I (110): Shillings (61). First Coinage, Thistle (First Bust) 3, (Second Bust) 11; Lis 8. Second Coinage, Lis (Third Bust) 4; Uncertain 1; Rose 5, (Fourth Bust) 8; Scallop 7; Grapes 1; Coronet 1, (Fifth Bust) 2; Mullet 1; Tun 1. Third Coinage, Sixth Bust. Thistle 3; Lis 2; with plumes on reverse 1; Trefoil 2; with plumes on reverse 1. Sixpences (49). First Coinage, Thistle (First Bust) 1603 5, (Second Bust) 1603 5; Lis 1604 4. Second Coinage. Lis (Third Bust) 1604 5, 1605 3; Rose 1605 8, (Fourth Bust) 1605 3, 1606 1; Scallop 1606 3; 1607 2; Coronet 1608 2; Key 1609 2; Mullet 1611 1; Trefoil 1613 1. Third Coinage, Sixth Bust: Thistle 1621 1, 1622 1; Lis 1624 1; Trefoil 1624 1.
- Charles I (240): Half-crowns (17): 2c Portcullis 1; 3a¹ Bell 3, Tun 8; 3a² Anchor 2, Triangle 1; 4 Star 1; 3a³ Sun 1.
 Shillings (171). 1 Lis 5, Cross 1; 1a 1; 2a Plumes 2, Rose 1; 3¹ Harp 5, Portcullis 6; 3a Bell 8, Crown 7; 3b 2; 3a Tun 36; 4¹ 2; 4² 8; 4³ 1; Anchor 20, Triangle 4; 4⁴ 22; Star 37; Triangle in Circle 2. False 1/- with Anchor mark 1.
 Sixpences (52): 1b² Plumes 1; 3 Harp 2, Portcullis 3; 3a Bell 2, Crown 8, Tun 8; 4¹ 3; Anchor 3; 4² 6; 4³ Triangle 8; 4² 5; 4³ Star 2, Triangle in Circle 1.

Aberystwyth

- Charles I: Shilling: Book 1.

LUTTON (NORTHANTS) TREASURE TROVE (CHARLES I)

Walking across a field adjacent to the old Manor House on 1st and 3rd May, 1961, some children found numerous silver coins scattered in an area churned up by cattle. With others found in the preceding year a total of 183 were recovered, the latest dating from 1643–4. At an Inquest held on 17th May, the coins were declared Treasure Trove. The finders waived their reward, and the coins were presented to the Peterborough Museum.

List of the coins

- Philip and Mary (1): Sixpence 1557 1.
 Elizabeth I (117): Shillings (9). Lis 1; Crosslets 1; Martlet 4; A 1; Scallop 1; Tun 1.
 Sixpences (108). Pheon 1561 6, 1562 2, 1564 4*, 1565 1, 8 156/// 2; Rose 1563 3; Portecullis 1566 3; Lion 1567 1; Coronet 1567 5, 1568 8, 1569 5, 156/// 1; Castle 1570 2, 1571 2; Ermine 1572 3; Bell 15///// 1; Acorn 1573 3, 1574 1; Eglantine 1574 4, 1575 2, 1576 2; Cross 1578 2, 1579 3; Long Cross 1580 5, 1581 8, 158///// 1; Sword 1582 5; A 1583 1; Scallop 1585 3, 1586 1; Crescent (rev. over Scallop) 1587 over 6 1; Hand 1590 1; Tun 1592 5, 1593 2; Woolpack 1594 2; Key 1598 1; 0 1600 1; Z 1601 4. Uncertain 1561–1582 1.
 *One with Zeeland countermark on obverse.
- James I (8): *English* (7). Shillings (3): First Coinage, Second Bust. Thistle 1; Lis 1. Second Coinage, Fourth Bust. Rose 1.
 Sixpences (4): First Coinage, Second Bust. Thistle 1604 1; Lis 1604 1. Second Coinage, Third Bust. Lis 1604 1, Fifth Bust. Scallop 1606 1.
Scots (1). Thirty Shilling Piece (English Arms). Thistle 1.
- Charles I (57). Half Crowns (9). Tun (3a¹) 2; Star (4) 1; Triangle in Circle (4) 6.
 Shillings (45). Crown (3a) 1; Tun (3a) 4, (4³) 2; Anchor (4³) 1; Triangle (4⁴) 5; Star (4⁴) 8; Triangle in Circle (4⁴) 20; (P) (4⁴) 1 doubtful; Uncertain (4⁴) 3.
 Sixpences (3). Bell (3a) 2; Triangle in Circle (4³) 1.

FOUR 18th—20th CENTURIES HOARD REPORTS

By M. M. ARCHIBALD

THE TADLEY FIND

IN June 1963 twenty one gold coins were found by Christopher Forrest, a four year old child, in the garden of his home at 2, Winston Avenue, Tadley, Hampshire.

The find was examined at the British Museum on 20th December 1963 and comprised sixteen guineas and five half-guineas dated from 1768 to 1801. The composition of the find and the condition of the coins suggested that they had been deposited in or shortly after 1801 and represented a sample of the gold coinage in circulation at that date.

When the coins were produced at the coroner's inquest held on 3rd January 1964, the jury found that they had been accidentally lost or abandoned and that the owner or owners were now unknown. In accordance with this verdict the coins were handed over to William Forrest, the finder's father, as the owner of the land on which they were found.

Since the verdict had not been one of treasure trove the British Museum had no control over the disposal of the coins.

THE TADLEY FIND

Guineas: 1768; 1773; 1774; 1776; 1777; 1779; 1784, (2); 1788; 1790, (2); 1791, (2); 1793; 1795, (2).
Half-guineas: 1786; 1793; 1797; 1798; 1801.

THE WISBECH HOARD

The hoard was found on 20th March 1964 by John Petts during demolition work at 7, Ruby Place, Wisbech, Cambridgeshire. The coins had lain under the floorboards of an upstairs room of the cottage and were dislodged when the ceiling of the room below was being removed. The finder noticed a few rotted fragments of the container which appeared to have been a bag of sack-cloth or other coarsely woven material.

A verdict of treasure trove was returned at the inquest held on 23rd April 1964 and the coins were sent to the British Museum for examination.

The hoard comprised ninety-six sovereigns and one half-sovereign, the earliest coin being dated 1825 and the latest 1875. The earliest coins were worn but not excessively so. Despite their appearance, however, many of them were below the minimum current weight, four out of six of the sovereigns of George IV, all four of those of William IV and several of the early Victorian pieces failing to reach the required 122·500 grains¹. Condition gradually improved until the closing coins of 1874 and 1875 which were in almost mint state. A particularly well-preserved sovereign of 1869 was clearly an accidental exception and the peak of representation reached in 1864 is explained by the larger than normal issues of sovereigns in that and immediately preceding years².

¹ Mint Report 1889, Appendix No. XV, p. 95 ff. The report estimated that sovereigns became under current weight after about nineteen years and half sovereigns after about nine years.

² Mint Report figures for sovereigns issued; 1858, 803,234; 1859, 1,547,603; 1860, 2,555,958; 1861, 7,624,736; 1862, 7,836,413; 1863, 5,921,669; 1864, 8,656,352; 1865, 1,450,238.

The find therefore did not show any of the anomalies of condition or representation which might have been expected had its contents been accumulated steadily over a period of years or laid aside on two or more separate occasions. The general impression of the hoard was that it represented a group of coins withdrawn from circulation in 1875. The presence of only one half-sovereign supported this view and may even suggest that the hoarder acquired the money as an exceptional payment in a lump sum.

Fifteen of the sovereigns in the hoard were struck at Australian mints. In 1863 and 1866 acts had been passed empowering the Queen to authorise as legal tender in the United Kingdom gold coins struck at colonial branch mints. The Mint Report of 1875 stated that £1,972,000 and £2,726,000 in Australian gold coins were sent into the Bank of England in 1874 and 1875 respectively and that as a result of these large numbers the Royal Mint, London, did not require to strike any gold between September 1874 and November 1875. It is not surprising therefore that a number of Australian sovereigns should be present in a British hoard deposited in 1875 nor, in particular, that one of them should be the latest coin in it.

Coins from the hoard were acquired by the British Museum, the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and the Peterborough Museum as listed below. In accordance with treasure trove procedure the remainder of the hoard was disposed of through the trade and the finder rewarded by the full amount obtained for these and for the other coins acquired by museums.

RUBY PLACE, WISBECH, HOARD

No.	Date	Spink*	Die	Type
SOVEREIGNS				
GEORGE IV				
1	1825	476		
2-3	1826	477		
4	1829	480		
5-6	1830	481		
WILLIAM IV				
7-10	1832	490		
VICTORIA				
11-3	1838	499		
14-6	1842	502		
17	1843	503		
18	1845	506		
19	1847	508		
20-1	1850	511		
22	1852	513		
23-6	1853	514		
27-8	1854	515		
29	1855	516		
30-2	1856	517		
33	1857	518		
34	1859	520		
35	1860	521		

* 'Spink' denotes the appropriate number in *The Milled Coinage of England, 1662-1946*. Spink & Son Ltd., London, 1950.

No.	Date	Spink*	Die	Type
VICTORIA (Continued)				
36-7	1861	522		
38-9	1862	523		
40-1	1863	524	—; 3.	
42-9	1864	525	56; 63; 72; 78; 97; 99; 102; 103.	
50	1865	526	1.	
51-2	1866	527	40; 78.	
53-7	1869	529	13; 40; 53; 59; 61.	
58	1870	530	1 (ww incuse).	
59	1870	530	92 (ww relief).	
60-1	1871	532	—, small BP.	
62-7	1872	533	—; 43; 49; 75; 91; 99.	
68-74	1872	534		
75-8	1873	536		
79-81	1874	538		
MELBOURNE MINT				
82	1873	M		George.
83	1874	M		Shield.
84-5	1874	M		George.
86	1875	M		George.
SYDNEY MINT				
87	1871	S		George, large BP.
88	1871	S		George small BP.
89	1872	S		George. (Scratched 'x' on both sides).
90-91	1874	S		George.
AUSTRALIAN SOVEREIGNS				
92	1859			
93	1865			
94-5	1867			
96	1870			

 $\frac{1}{2}$ SOVEREIGN

97	1870	590	33
----	------	-----	----

* 'Spink' denotes the appropriate number in *The Milled Coinage of England, 1662-1946*. Spink & Son Ltd., London, 1950.

Acquisitions:—

British Museum:	No. 84.
Ashmolean Museum:	Nos. 1, 4, 11, 14, 17, 20, 22, 30, 33, 34, 36, 38, 40-44, 50, 51, 53, 58, 60, 62, 63, 68, 75, 79, 82, 83, 85-88 and 97.
Peterborough Museum:	Nos. 10 and 65.

THE HOYLAND HOARD

Two employees of the Worsborough Urban District Council, Thomas Briscoe and Joseph Hirst found the hoard during the demolition of a house at 62, Wentworth Road, Blacker Hill, Hoyland in the West Riding of Yorkshire on 16th November 1962. When the coins were discovered under the floorboards of the downstairs back bedroom there was no trace of a container.

At the inquest held on 17th January 1963 the coins were found to be treasure trove and sent to the British Museum for examination.

The hoard comprised seven sovereigns, twenty-seven half-sovereigns, one double florin, thirty half-crowns, sixty-five florins, one hundred and seventy shillings and two sixpences. The earliest coin was of 1816 and the latest of 1892.

While the most recent coins were scarcely worn, the bulk of the hoard was in very poor condition. The reverses of the George III and George IV shillings were completely blank and specimens of each weighed 70.8 and 75.9 grains respectively as against the official weight at issue of 87.25 grains. The earlier Victorian gold as well as the silver was hardly in a much better state and the easily defaced detail of the Gothic florins had resulted in the coins of this type appearing well-worn after only a few years of circulation. The double florin of 1889 was in noticeably better condition than the contemporary silver of lower denomination.

The problem of worn and under-weight coin in circulation had been recognised by the Mint authorities¹. The application of the provisions of the 1889 and 1891 coinage acts and the striking of large numbers of silver coins to replace worn ones enabled the Deputy Master to report in 1891 that 'the silver coinage throughout the Empire is, on the whole, in a satisfactory condition'², and in 1892 that 'very satisfactory progress has been made during the year in the operation of replacing light weight gold coins by coins of full legal weight'³ and that 'the character of the silver coinage continues to improve'⁴. The general condition of the hoard hardly accords with this although the explanation may be to some extent that offered by the Mint Report itself when it says that coins sent into the Bank of England from the provinces included 'an undue proportion of coins greatly reduced by wear'⁵.

Four of the sovereigns and two of the half-sovereigns in the hoard were struck at Australian mints. The currency of these coins in the United Kingdom is discussed in the report on the Wisbech Hoard⁶.

The hoard showed the usual correlation between greater wear and increasing age which is normally found in one-period deposits and it is therefore likely to have been a sum of money laid aside in or soon after 1892. The large number of coins of low denomination suggested that it represented the takings (minus the small change left in the till) of a shop or business.

Coins from the hoard were acquired by the British Museum, the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Batley Museum and Rotherham Museum as listed below. The amount realised from the sale of these coins and from the rest of the gold coins in the hoard was paid in full to the finders and the remaining silver coins, being still current, were returned to them.

¹ e.g. Mint Report 1889, p. 95 ff.

² Mint Report 1891, p. 14.

³ Mint Report 1892, p. 8.

⁴ Ibid p. 15.

⁵ Ibid pp. 9-10.

⁶ P. 157.

HOYLAND HOARD

No.	Date	Spink*	Mint or Die	No.	Date	Spink	Mint or Die
SOVEREIGNS				HALF CROWNS (cont.)			
1	1874	538	S	63	1889	1212	
2	1888	548	M	64	1890	1213	
3-5	1891	551	—; (2); S.	65	1892	1215	
6-7	1892	552	—; M.				
HALF SOVEREIGNS				FLORINS			
8	1844	566	—	66-69	1853	1230	
9	1859	581	—	70-71	1855	1232	
10	1860	582	—	72-74	1856	1233	
11	1867	588	3.	75-76	1857	1234	
12-13	1869	589	13, (2).	77	1858	1234	
14-15	1871	591	10; 47.	78-81	1859	1236	
16	1872	592	50.	82	1862	1239	'BRIT'.
17-18	1873	593	184; M.	83-84	1864	1241	60, (2).
19-20	1876	596	6; 73.	85-86	1865	1242	4; 13.
21	1877	597	57.	87-88	1866	1244	9; 28.
22-3	1883	601	—	89-90	1868	1247	8; 13.
24-5	1885	603		91-92	1870	1249	10; 24.
26	1886	604	S	93-99	1871	1250	25; 38; 45; 46; 50; 59; 63.
27	1890	608		100-108	1872	1251	9; 10; 38; 40; 46; 47; 83; 96; 123.
28	1891	609		109-115	1873	1252	40; 73; 103; 135; 149; 161; 256.
29-34	1892	610		116-117	1874	1253	26; 58.
DOUBLE FLORIN				118-120	1878	1259	39; 57; 60.
35	1889	1183		121	1879	1262	
HALF CROWNS				122	1880	1263	
36	1816	1089		123-126	1881	1264	
37	1817	1092		127	1883	1265	
38-9	—	—	Period 1817-20	128-129	1884	1266	
40	1823	1116	Countermarked 'IT' incuse	130	1885	1267	
41-2	—	—	Period 1825-9	SHILLINGS			
43	1832	1139		131-132	1816	1099	Fine and broad date letters
44	1844	1190		133	1824	1125	
45-48	1845	1191		134	1826	1128	
49	1859	1195		135-6	1834	1144	
50-1	1874	1196		137	—	—	Period 1834-7
52	1876	1198		138-141	1839	1288	
53-4	1878	1200		142-3	1840	1289	
55-6	1879	1201		144	1841	1290	
57	1880	1202		145	1842	1291	
58	1881	1203		146	1843	1292	
59	1883	1205		147	1844	1293	
60	1884	1206		148	1845	1294	
61	1885	1207					
62	1887	1210					

In the list above 'M' and 'S' denote the mints of Melbourne and Sydney respectively.

*'Spink' denotes the appropriate number in *The Milled Coinage of England, 1662-1946*. Spink & Son Ltd., London, 1950.

No.	Date	Spink*	Mint or Die	No.	Date	Spink	Mint or Die
SHILLINGS (<i>cont.</i>)				SHILLINGS (<i>cont.</i>)			
149	1848	1296		226-232	1873	1323	12; 36; 42; 46; 77; 114; 129.
150	1849	1297					
151	1851	1299		233-240	1874	1324	7; 12; 16; 34; 38; 39; 41; 61.
152-3	1852	1300					
154-159	1853	1301		241-243	1875	1325	38; 44; 67.
160	1854	1302		244	1876	1326	11.
161-162	1855	1303		245-246	1877	1327	3; 49.
163	1856	1304		247	1878	1328	48.
164	1857	1306		248	1879	1330	
165-168	1858	1307		249-251	1880	1331	
169-173	1859	1308		252-256	1881	1332	
174-176	1860	1309		257-266	1883	1334	
177	1861	1310		267-272	1884	1335	
178-179	1862	1311		273-274	1885	1336	
180-181	1863	1312		275-277	1886	1337	
182-4	1864	1313	8; 35; 42.	278-285	—	—	'Young Head' Period
185-191	1856	1314	5; 37; 103; 115; 116; 124, (2).	286	1887	1339	
				287	1888	1340	
192-197	1866	1315	24; 27; 46; 52; 57; 59.	288-294	1889	1342	
198-199	1867	1316	1; 2.	295-298	1890	1343	
200-205	1868	1318	2; 9; 11; 26; 37; 48.	299-300	1891	1344	
				SIXPENCES			
206-208	1869	1319	3; 5; 12.	301	1839	1345	
209-210	1870	1320	12; 17.	302	1889	1412	
211-214	1871	1321	11; 14, (2); 28.				
215-225	1872	1322	29; 39; 50; 59; 77; 85; 88; 90; 98; 106; 148.				

*Spink' denotes the appropriate number in *The Milled Coinage of England, 1662-1946*. Spink & Son Ltd. London, 1950.

Acquisitions :—

British Museum: Nos. 18 and 26.
 Ashmolean Museum: Nos. 8, 9, 10, 14, 16, 17, 19, 21, 22, 24, 27, 28, and 30.
 Batley Museum: Nos. 1, 3, 7, 25, 29, 35, 65, 267, 295 and 302.
 Rotherham Museum: Nos. 5, 31 and 286.

THE ALPHETON HOARD

The hoard was found by Edward Hudgell while he was cleaning out a ditch bordering the Sudbury to Bury St. Edmunds road at Shop Hill, Alpheton, Suffolk between 24th and 26th February 1964. There was no trace of a container.

At the inquest held on 3rd March 1964 the coins were declared Treasure Trove and sent to the British Museum for examination.

The hoard comprised sixty-three 'silver' coins, (face value £6-18-6), of which the earliest was dated 1871 and the latest 1922 and all of which are still legal tender. Coins of the Victoria 'Young Head' issue represented were in very worn condition and the latest coins,

although discoloured by the soil, showed little sign of wear. The date pattern and relative condition of the coins suggested that they had been withdrawn from circulation at the time of the hoard's deposition without any evident attempt to select recent specimens in fine condition, or to favour those earlier issues with the higher silver content. The hoard was therefore likely to have been buried in, or soon after, 1922 and to have represented a sample of the silver coinage in use at that date.

Although insufficient to establish the legal ownership of the hoard, the evidence of witnesses included references to a local eccentric, William Buxton (d. 1929), who was known to carry about large sums of money in coin which he said he intended to bury. He was said to have had sovereigns also, but no gold was found on this occasion.

Six coins were acquired by Bury St. Edmunds Museum and the purchase price together with the remainder of the hoard was returned to the finder.

ALPHETON HOARD

VICTORIA

<i>Young Head</i>			<i>Die</i>	
1.	Halfcrown	1881		1*
2.	Florin	1871	////	1
3.	"	1872	128	1
4.	"	1873	228	1
5.	"	1873	227	1*
6.	" with WW	1879		1
 <i>Jubilee Head</i>				
7.	Halfcrown	1887		1
8.	"	1888		1
9.	"	1892		1*
10.	Florin	1890		1*
 <i>Old Head</i>				
11.	Halfcrown	1893		1
12.	"	1898		1*
13.	Florin	1901		1*

*Acquired by Bury St. Edmunds Museum.

EDWARD VII

14.	Halfcrown	1906	1
15.	"	1909	1
16.	Florin	190//	1
17.	"	190//	1
18.	Shilling	1902	1

GEORGE V

19-20.	Halfcrown	1914	2
21-24.	„	1915	4
25-26.	„	1916	2
27-28.	„	1917	2
29-30.	„	1918	2
31-33.	„	1919	3
34-37,	„	1920	4
38-42.	„	1921	5
43.	„	1922	1
44-45.	Florin	1912	2
46-47.	„	1914	2
48.	„	1916	1
49.	„	1917	1
50-51.	„	1918	2
52-53.	„	1920	2
54-60,	„	1921	7
61.	Shilling	1915	1
62.	„	1921	1
63.	„	1922	1

THE GUERNSEY EIGHT DOUBLES OF 1864

By D. L. F. SEALY

THE Guernsey 8 doubles of 1864, with its companion piece the 4 doubles, formed the first coinage in bronze for the island. The design, which must be familiar to all numismatists, shows on the obverse an ornately outlined shield bearing the arms of Guernsey (the ancient arms of England), gules, three lions passant guardant, or. The tincture of the field is indicated by the conventional vertical hachuring, but the tincture of the lions is not indicated. The shield is surmounted by a sprig of three leaves, the name (in French spelling) GUERNESEY above, the whole surrounded by a wreath of two laurel branches, tied at the base with a bow. Border of pellets. Reverse, in a similar but longer wreath, the value and date, 8/DOUBLES/1864. Border as last.

The exact composition is apparently not on record, but probably approximates to that of the contemporary British penny, i.e. a bronze of about 95% copper. The weight averages 150 grains¹, slightly heavier than the legal weight of a penny, 145.83 grains (= $\frac{1}{3}$ ounce avoirdupois). The diameter is less rigidly held and is generally slightly greater than a penny; Pridmore (*loc. cit.*) gives 31.4 mm (penny 30.8 mm). At the time of issue they were current at 252 pieces to the pound sterling², i.e.,

$$8 \text{ doubles} = \frac{20}{21} \text{ of a British penny!}$$

This may be compared with the contemporary Jersey penny, worth

$$\frac{12}{13} \text{ of a British penny.}$$

The Guernsey currency was assimilated to British in 1921, making 8 doubles = 1 penny.

284,736 of the 8 doubles and 212,976 of the 4 doubles dated 1864 were struck by the firm of Henry Jay & Co., of Birmingham, who were also responsible for the last copper issue of 1858. This information, with a detailed listing of the coins, was published by Marshall-Fraser (*loc. cit.*, p. 315) from a study of the official records. He is followed with only minor amendments by Pridmore (*loc. cit.*, pp. 34–5). These authors give the most complete listings, I believe, of the varieties of this coin that have yet appeared in print, but they are unfortunately incomplete and, as I hope to show, miss a conclusion of some interest.

No trace whatever of the firm of Henry Jay & Co. can be found in the records of Birmingham firms of the time or later. For this interesting, though negative, piece of information I am indebted to Mr. R. N. P. Hawkins, who confirms a statement to the same effect by Marshall-Fraser. It is therefore all the more important that any facts we can glean from the coins themselves should be put on record.

There are five different dies to be distinguished for both obverse and reverse of this coin, and certain of these exist in two states. They form a series of ten varieties which are die-linked together in a definite order, with the exception of one pairing. It has proved possible, by the marked deterioration of one reverse die, to deduce the direction in which this series is to be read, and thus to number the varieties and dies in chronological order. Marshall-Fraser and Pridmore separate the obverse dies fairly successfully, but practically ignore variations in the reverse.

¹ Pridmore, F., 1960. *Coins of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Part 1.* (London (Spink & Son). 98 pp.), page 34.

² Marshall-Fraser, W., 1948. The Coinages of the Channel Islands. *Trans. Soc. Guernesiaise* 1948, pp. 298–332. Page 328.

The obverses may be distinguished as follows:

1. No berries at bow. Wreath therefore arranged as follows (reading from top to bottom): leaves 3-4-4, berries 2-2 both sides. Bow deep; three leaves at top of shield spring from a single stalk. (Pridmore no. 4a).

2. Wreath and berries as 1. Bow shallower; three leaves at top of shield have separate stalks. (Pridmore no. 4b).

3. Two berries at right and one at left of bow. Extra leaf in wreath at left. Wreath therefore arranged as follows: left, leaves 3-5-4, berries 2-2-1; right, leaves 3-4-4 and berries 2-2-2. (Pridmore no. 8).

3a. A variety of the above lacks the berry at left of bow; wreath therefore arranged as follows: left, leaves 3-5-4, berries 2-2; right, leaves 3-4-4, berries 2-2-2. (Not in Pridmore or Marshall-Fraser). It would seem that this variety, which is only found paired with one reverse, is due to a detail being temporarily filled in on the die. There are very slight traces of the stalk of the missing berry.

4. One berry each side of bow, twelve leaves in left half of wreath. Wreath is therefore arranged as follows: left, leaves 3-5-4, berries 2-2-1; right, leaves 3-4-4 and berries 2-2-1. (Pridmore no. 7).

5. As no. 4, but only eleven leaves in left half of wreath. Wreath is therefore arranged as follows: leaves 3-4-4, berries 2-2-1 both sides. (Pridmore no. 5).

The different reverses are most conveniently classified on the form of the triad of leaves at right, nearest the s of DOUBLES. They may be distinguished as follows:

A. Centre leaf of triad on top. Bar of 8 in date weak.

A*. A second state of die A, which shows marked deterioration in the outlines of the letters, which are blurred and irregular. This is particularly noticeable on the BLE of DOUBLES. On some examples there is an excrescence on the margin of the top leaf at left. The bar of the 8 in date is generally missing. A* only occurs paired with obverse die 2, while undamaged A occurs with both 1 and 2. It is this fact which gives a direction in time to the die-linked series.

B. Similar to A, but left leaf of triad on top. Bar of 8 in date weak.

C. Right-hand leaf of triad on top. The triad is irregular, with the tip of the right-hand leaf out of line and lower than the others. Coins from this die are usually not fully struck up.

D. Right-hand leaf of triad on top, and the tips of all three leaves are at the same level. The leaf immediately below s is well spaced from it.

E. as D, but the leaf immediately below s is almost touching it. The date is closer spaced than on any other die.

I have seen the following ten die pairings:

<i>My no.</i>	<i>Dies</i>	<i>Pridmore</i>	<i>Marshall-Fraser</i>	<i>Notes</i>
I	1 + A	4a	1	
II	2 + A	4b	1	
III	2 + A*	4b	1	In B.M.
IV	2 + B	4b	1	
V	3 + B	8	4	
VI	3 + C	8	4	In B.M.
VII	3a + C	—	—	Variety of VI only.
VIII	3 + D	8	4	
IX	4 + D	7	2	Proof (?) in B.M. ¹
X	5 + E	5	3	Commonest. ²

¹ This proof-like piece may be the one listed by Pridmore as his 'A', p. 34.

² Although this is the commonest die pairing, I

much regret that the specimen used for illustration, the clearest available, is marred by a small hole. This is fortunately in an unimportant place.

It will be clearly seen that, as 3a can be regarded as merely a temporary condition of 3, these form a die-linked series, all connected in the order given, except for the last (5 + E). I find this is the commonest pairing. Neither of this pair of dies has yet been found linked with another, and so its place last in the series is doubtful: it may equally well come first, before 1 + A. I think, however, it is more likely to be correctly placed here than at the beginning, as the details more closely resemble 4 + D than they do 1 + A. The excessive number of specimens of this pairing suggests that a single pair of dies were made and used after an interval, after the main A-D, 1-4 series had ceased. It should be added that altogether several hundred specimens have been examined in this study and no other die pairing has been found. A die-link between 5 + E and one of the others may eventually come to light, but if it exists it must be of considerable rarity. It ought to be possible, by making a statistical study of the frequency of occurrence of the different die pairings, to estimate the output of each die. I must plead guilty to having neglected this: when I first started looking at these coins I did not know where it would lead!

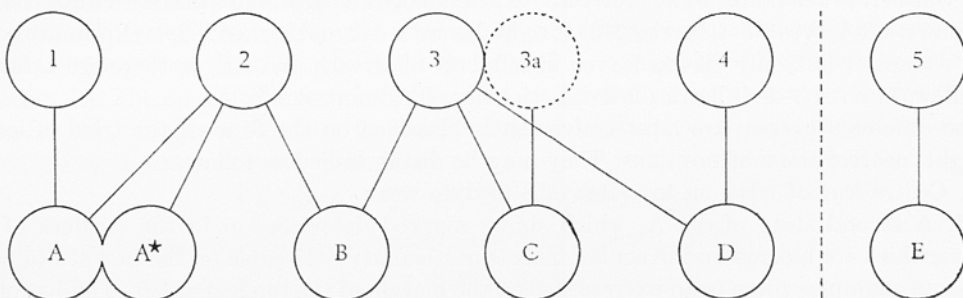


FIG. 1. The dies as a chain-linked series. Obverses above, reverses below.

Another variety that I have failed to find is Pridmore's no. 6, which he himself records solely on the authority of Marshall-Fraser (his no. 5, p. 315). Pridmore himself (*in litt.*, Feb. 1964) now doubts the existence of this coin. It seems to differ from Pridmore's no. 5 (my no. X) only in the absence of the lowest berry on the left on the *reverse*. This may well be a temporary filling-in of detail on the die comparable with my *obverse* 3a, where the same detail is lacking.

It should perhaps be mentioned that no die-link has been found between the 1864 8 doubles and that of 1868. This perhaps is to be expected: according to Marshall-Fraser they are the products of different firms.

A more important matter concerns the nature of the damage to die A to give A*. The damage once formed is progressive. The excrescence on the leaf in particular appears late and grows in size, and at the same time the blobby appearance of the outlines in the letters increases. But the defects first seem to appear suddenly: I can find no specimens showing only the faintest traces of damage. All this is consistent with it being primarily due to rusting, and this implies a suspension of coining for a short period. Because die A is involved this must have occurred comparatively early on in the issue. It is a curious fact that the companion die 2 shows no signs of similar damage, and this could be due to a careless operative forgetting to grease only one of the dies before putting them into store!

I am greatly indebted to Mr. B. H. I. H. Stewart for pointing out to me the significance of a chain-linked series as opposed to a fully cross-linked group of coins. A chain-linked series

is likely to be the product of a single press or machine over a period of time, during which as one die was worn out it was replaced by another; we do not therefore find early and late dies used together. On the other hand a fully cross-linked group would be the product of a much more intensive activity for a shorter time, i.e. several presses working at the same time, each with one pair of dies which would tend to be redistributed at random at the start of each working spell. Since this is not what we find in this case, but rather a chain-linked series, we can, I think, deduce that the firm of Henry Jay & Co. only possessed one press suitable for coining—or at any rate only one which was in fact so used.

One further fact which I think we can deduce is that, since each die is distinct, they must have been engraved directly by hand, probably as required. This would also point to the firm's lack of facilities for coinage operations; they clearly possessed no hubbing press or other means of multiplying dies. The engraving of the dies themselves shows no lack of skill, and this makes one wonder who the artist was.

My sincere thanks are due to Mr. C. Wilson Peck and to Mr. B. H. I. H. Stewart for help and encouragement, and to Mr. C. R. Hill for photographic assistance. All the coins illustrated are in my own collection.



GUERNSEY 8 DOUBLES

About $\times 1.5$ 1-5 OBVERSES A-E REVERSES

MISCELLANEA

COINS OF THE SUSSEX MINTS

Addendum (See Vol. XXVIII, p. 524)

Lewes. Cnut, type BMC viii.

136a. + CNVT RE+ ANGLOR Godman H.H.K.
+ GODMAN ON LEPE.

Corrigendum (See Vol. XXVIII, p. 257)

Hastings. William I, type BMC v.

150

The entry of this coin as being in the British

Museum is incorrect. It is a cast in the Museum of a coin, ticketed 'P.C-B., Jan. 1911'. As it was not in any of Major P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton's sales in 1913, 1916 and 1918, it was presumably in the fourth portion of his collection sold privately to Spink & Son. Since then it has disappeared, Spink's records being lost in the last war.

HORACE H. KING.

FOUR 'NEW' COINS OF THE HUNTINGDON MINT.

THE four coins described below come from a fine collection of Saxon and Norman coins of the Huntingdon mint, a small selection of which recently became available for study. If not actually unpublished all four coins are, it is thought, of sufficient interest to warrant their being recorded here together with the brief notes on them which follow.

- (1). Canute. BMC Type XVI (Pl. VII, No. 1).

Obv. +CNVT/RE—

Rev. +ÆLFGAR ON HVNT

Weight. 17.4 grs. die axis. ←.

This moneyer Alfgar is not recorded in Hildebrand, BMC or Brooke. I see however that Alfgar is recorded as a Huntingdon moneyer in this reign in Mr. J. J. North's recently published book (*English Hammered Coinage* Vol. 1.). Mr. North's authority for this is the Huntingdon coin of the same reign and type which was comprised in Lockett Lot 3765 and is now in the British Museum. This piece is of anomalous style and I regard it as being Scandinavian or, at any rate, 'non-English'. The obverse inscription is wholly unintelligible. The reverse reads +ÆLGAR ON HVNT.

This is clearly a blundered reading although the moneyer's name could well have been intended to be read as Alfgar. Although of distinctly 'non-English' style Mr. Dolley considers that the coin probably is English. Obviously Mr. Dolley's opinion must be respected and it is significant that we now have clear evidence from a coin (or rather from two coins as the collection in question contains a die-duplicate specimen in much better condition than the one illustrated here) of undoubted English work to prove the existence of this, until quite recently, unpublished Huntingdon moneyer for the reign.

- (2). Edward the Confessor. BMC Type IV. (Pl. VI, No. 2).

Obv. +EDPA/DREX

Rev. +PV/LFP/TON/VNT/.

Weight. 15.4 grs. die axis. ←.

This is a very rare type for the mint; only one of it is recorded in Hildebrand and there is only one (BMC No. 560) in the British Museum, both by the same moneyer, Wulfwine, as the foregoing. All three coins are from different dies but what is interesting about this one is that instead of PACX

it reads $\begin{array}{c|c} c & x \\ s & p \end{array}$ in the angles of the cross on the reverse in which respect it is, I believe, unique.

- (3). Henry I. BMC Type XIV. (Pl. VII, No. 3).

Obv. —NRICVSREX (unusually neat style.)

Rev. —FPINE: ON: hv—.

Weight. 20.2 grs. die axis. →

- (4). A die duplicate of No. 3. (Pl. VII, No. 4).

Obv. —RICVS REX.

Rev. cross potent EL[F]PINE: ON:—

Weight. 22.2 grs. die axis. →

This is a very rare type for the mint and hitherto only one moneyer, Derlig, has been recorded in it. These two die duplicate coins combine to give the name of an unpublished moneyer, Alfwine (or, as it becomes at this period, Elfwine), for the reign. Alfwine is, of course, a common enough name throughout the Saxon and Norman periods but it is of only intermittent occurrence at this mint. It is pretty well continuous from c. 1040 to c. 1055; the name then disappears for some thirty years to recur, for a short period, as that of the sole moneyer of the mint in William I Type VIII.

It is unrecorded in William II and hitherto has been unrecorded in Henry I. In this instance the lapse of time is even greater than previously and cannot have been much less than forty years.

Coin No. 3. came from the large 'Canterbury' Find of 1901 which Carlyon-Britton partially published in *BNJ* XIX (1909) where (p. 97) its reading —FINE: ON: HVN— is recorded under Huntingdon. Actually only HV— is visible on the coin but this is sufficient to establish the attribution. There is no reference there to coin No. 4 but it is certain that there were a considerable number of 'strays' from this partially recorded find with its somewhat 'sketchy' background¹ and my guess is that coin No. 4 also came originally from the same source as No. 3.

It is also certain that Brooke did not know of the existence of these two coins as even coin No. 3 is not mentioned in *BMC Norman Kings*. Presumably, and quite understandably, Brooke regarded the *BNJ* reading by itself, and without his being able to verify it, as too speculative even for inclusion in his

list of doubtful attributions at the foot of the table of moneyers in the Introduction to *Norman Kings*.

The exceptionally fine collection of coins of the Huntingdon mint, whence these came, must have been formed over a considerable period and one which probably spanned the first twenty years of the century. It seems remarkable that the owner of it should have recognised the die-link between coins Nos. 3 and 4 and, having done so, should have kept the knowledge to himself. Coin No. 3. was certainly in Carlyon-Britton's possession in 1909 but it is equally certain that it was not there when Brooke examined his collection coin by coin preparatory to the publication of *Norman Kings* in 1916. If my guess that coin No. 4. was a stray from the 'Canterbury' Find, acquired by Carlyon-Britton sometime during the intervening six or seven years, could ever be proved to be right then obviously the credit for the discovery of the die-link must be given to him.

F. ELMORE JONES.

TWO FURTHER COINS OF HENRY I FROM LLANTRITHYD

THE purpose of this note is to put on record two further coins of Henry I which have come to light in the course of the excavations conducted by Mr. T. F. R. Jones at the site of a mediaeval manor at Llantrithyd some ten miles to the west of Cardiff. The coins were found at different times and at different parts of the excavation in the course of the 1963 season, and all the evidence indicates that they had been lost on different occasions. One is clearly a 'stray' from the scattered find recorded in pp. 74–79 of the 1962 *British Numismatic Journal*, and adds disappointingly little to our knowledge of the coinage of that period, but the other, unfortunately a cut halfpenny and chipped into the bargain, is perhaps the earliest coin that can be attributed with absolute confidence to the mint of Cardiff, antedating as it does by some fifteen years the sensational penny of Henry I type XI discovered on the same site in 1962.

The 'stray' from the hoard is a whole coin. It can be described as follows:—

BMC type XI = North 867 = Hawkins 258

Obv. HEN [|||||].

Rev. Outer: [||||] | [||||] | MA | NO Weight: 20.2gr.

Inner: + [|||||] DE: Die-axis: 180°

[Fig. 1 a]

The inner legend on the reverse can be restored with confidence to read +NLUNDE—indeed the initial

N, the completion of the locative preposition begun in the outer legend, can be made out on the actual coin — and so the mint is incontrovertibly London. The identification of the moneyer is not so easy, though as it happens the deuterotheme —MAN is not particularly common where the names of Henry I's London moneyers are concerned. The obvious candidate is *Blac(a)man* who is actually known for the type (cf. *NC* 1901, p. 82) but the coin is from different dies. Moreover, even if we allow the spelling *Blacman*, the need to allow for an initial cross as well precludes a strictly symmetrical disposition of the letters of the outer legend. It is not pretended, though, that this objection is decisive, and it may well be thought that a reconstruction +BL | AC | MA | NO or +B | LAC | MA | NO is very plausible. On the other hand, there is a *BMC* type XV moneyer *Derman* whose name allows of the absolutely symmetrical division +D | ER | MA | NO, and it could be argued that it is purely fortuitous that he has still to be recorded in *BMC* type XIV, the only intervening type that could be described as at all common. Although, then, *Blac(a)man* on balance seems the stronger candidate, the question is one that should be left open. So little is known as yet concerning the London moneyers of the middle years of Henry's reign that it is by no means inconceivable that the missing proto- and also the 12 coins listed on pp. 347–8 of the same volume to which the same possibility applies.

¹ For evidence of this see Mr. Dolley's article in *BNJ* XXVI (1951) where (p. 345) 6 coins are listed which may well have been 'strays' from this find

theme will be shown by a future discovery to be neither *BLAC-* nor *DER-*.

Still there are not known more than two dozen coins of *BMC* type XI, and so Llantrithyd with its eight coins from at least six mints has an assured place in any new study of the coinage of Henry I. The two dozen coins are from fourteen mints, and so the type might be considered relatively common beside *BMC* type V where the number of known coins is fewer than twenty, and the number of mints until now only ten. Perhaps the most remarkable of all the coins from Llantrithyd is a chipped cut halfpenny which can be described as follows:—

BMC type V = North 861 = Hawkins 267

Obv. +||||| E+ Die-axis: 270°.

Rev. ||||| RDI AFIE ?

[*Fig. 1, b*]

The portion that remains of the reverse legend is quite satisfyingly sharp and, the only real uncertainty is whether the *E* is followed by another letter or by the initial cross. It may be thought too, that the *R* which precedes the *D* is of rather unusual form, the loop being abnormally large in proportion to the tail, but even if the letter be accepted as indeterminate the letter-combination *DI AFIE* on a coin found within ten miles of Cardiff leaves room for only one prototheme, the Welsh

caer-, on the coin almost certainly rendered *CAR-*.

There seems little room for doubt, then, that the cut halfpenny from the Llantrithyd excavations ranks as the earliest known coin of the Normans in Morgannwg — in the earlier note it was pointed out that the Carlyon-Britton attribution of the 'Devitun' pieces to a hypothetical mint at St. Davids and Brooke's identification of *CAIRDI/CARITI* as Cardiff are open to objection on a number of grounds. It is unfortunate that the halving of the coin gives no hint of the name of the moneyer. Presumably the missing portion of the legend amounted to at most nine letters and in all probability no more than seven or eight. Four of these would be taken up by the locative preposition and the first two letters — *CA* — of the mint-signature, and so the moneyer's name must have been very short. This is not a fatal objection — more than a dozen of Henry I's moneyers have names of only three or four letters — but it may just prompt speculation as to whether we are right automatically to preclude the possibility that there may have been no moneyer's name at all. Granted that the dies are very obviously of 'London' work, it is still within the bounds of feasibility that the first element of the reverse legend could be a Latin, Old English or even Norman French noun indicating that Cardiff was a fort or



FIG. 1.

castle or town. A 'marcher mint' is so often a law unto itself, and this hypothesis, and it is nothing more, has the advantage where the new coin is concerned that it dispenses with a preposition and so adds two letters to the prototheme. However this may be, the //RDIAFIE? of the new coin must surely denote a mint established at Cardiff not much later than the end of the first decade of the twelfth century, and the more so because the *BMC* type XI coin found in 1962 provides incontrovertible

evidence of the operation of the mint at the site only a very few years later. It only remains to add that the two coins that form the subject of this note have been acquired by the National Museum of Wales, and to put on record the writer's regret that these pages appear too late for them to have been perused by the late Major John Youde for whom the Norman coinage of Wales had a very special fascination.

R. M. H. DOLLEY

TWO INTERESTING SITE FINDS

1. Anglo-Saxon Sceatta

The finding of a silver sceatta with a secure and somewhat unusual provenance seems worthy of record. The sceatta (wt. 10.5 grs.) is an example of type 23(e) (*BMC* 117) with whorl on obverse and helmeted figure holding two long crosses on reverse (Fig. 1). The coin is from the excavation of a

round barrow near Temple Guiting in Gloucestershire and was found in the top of the ditch surrounding the barrow. The excavator, Mrs. H. E. O'Neil, with whose permission this coin is published, reports that the find spot was not far from a Saxon grave inserted into the edge of the barrow.

FIG. 2.

FIG. 3.



FIG. 1

2. Imitation sterling

An extremely rare and interesting imitation sterling penny was found in 1963 in the excavations at the deserted mediaeval village of Gomeldon in the Bourne valley north-east of Salisbury. The coin was turned up in a yard area constructed over a building of late 12th century date.¹

The coin is, unfortunately, rather worn and the detail difficult to decipher, but it is clearly a second example of the previously unique piece of John the Blind of Luxembourg of the mint of Arlon (Fig. 2), published by Bernays in the supplement to his account of the coins of Luxembourg.² The details of the coin are as follows:

Obv. Bust, crowned, facing.

+EDWANNES o DNSREGYB

Rev. Cross with 3 pellets in each angle.

MON/ETA/ERL/ONS Wt. 12.6 grs. (Fig. 3).

The original example in Bernays' collection provided the evidence for the establishment of the mint at Arlon in 1346 in the reign of John the Blind and not in that of Charles IV whose coins had previously been the earliest on record from this mint. Only two known examples suggest a very small issue but it should be noted that the example from Gomeldon is from a different pair of dies.

The coin is now in the Salisbury Museum and I am indebted to the curator, Mr. H. de S. Shortt, for permission to publish this rare piece.

R. A. G. CARSON

¹ For another unusual sterling found in Wiltshire see *BNJ* 1960, p. 189.

² Bernays, *Histoire numismatique du comté puis*

duché de Luxembourg et ses fiefs, Mémoires, Académie royale de Belgique, 2^e série, t. X, p. 52 ff.

ANOTHER SMALL PARCEL FROM THE GREAT FIND AT ECCLES

IN the *Journal* for 1954, Mr. R. H. M. Dolley published details of a small parcel of Short Cross pennies which he postulated had come from the Eccles (1864) hoard (*Inventory* 152). The collection of coins in Maidstone Museum includes a parcel from that hoard and it may be thought instructive to compare the two. The Maidstone parcel was presented to the Museum by a Miss Romilly in March, 1900. It consists of 58 pennies: 55 English Short Cross and 3 Irish of John. Analysed in accordance with the classification evolved by Dr. L. A. Lawroec, there are 15 coins of class V, thirteen of class VI and twenty seven of class VII. There are no specimens from the period prior to the recoinage of 1205. The parcel described by Mr. Dolley, although consisting of only 24 pennies, included two of the early issues and two Scottish of William the Lion, but no Irish. Tabulated the two parcels appear as follows :—

Class	'Dolley'		Maidstone	
	Coins	%	Coins	%
I - IV	2	8	—	—
V	9	38	15	26
VI	4	17	13	22
VII	7	29	27	47
Irish	—	—	3	5
Scots	2	8	—	—
	—	—	—	—
	24	100	58	100
	—	—	—	—

Whereas we would anticipate the composition of a parcel from the Eccles hoard to show coins of class VII to be in excess of 50 per cent of the total, neither of these parcels so do. The Maidstone coins are not too far away from the expected ratios, especially when we consider the small size (0.93%) of the sample, but the coins shown to Mr. Dolley give the classes in a ratio which would seem more appropriate to a hoard deposited in the third decade of the thirteenth century. This may, however, be no more than the effect of chance selection in such a tiny (0.39) percentage of the find, or, and much more probable, the especial inclusion, in both groups, of coins from a selection of mints. As illustration of the latter theory the tables are shown again below after excluding the provincial mints and also the 'foreign' coins which are over-represented.

Class	'Dolley'		Maidstone	
	Coins	%	Coins	%
IV	1	6	—	—
V	3	20	10	20
VI	4	27	13	26
VII	7	47	27	54
	—	—	—	—
	15	100	50	100
	—	—	—	—

The Maidstone parcel now shows a ratio consistent with the similar finds from Colchester (*Inventory* 94) and 'France' (NC 1897), and the parcel published by Mr. Dolley is perhaps not inconsistent with them when it is taken into account that the transfer of merely one coin from the earlier classes to the latest would give the latter 53 per cent of the total.

The Maidstone coins are of the following mints and moneyers :—

ENGLAND		Lawrence Class					Total
		Vb	Vc	VI	VII		
LONDON	Abel	—	—	2	—	2	22
	Elis	—	—	—	3	3	
	Ilgel	—	—	4	—	4	
	Rauf	—	1	1	—	2	
	Raulf	—	—	1	1	2	
	Rencr	1	—	—	—	1	
	Ricard B	1	—	—	—	1	
	Terri	—	—	—	2	2	
	Walter	—	1	1	—	2	
	Willelm B	—	1	—	—	1	
	Willelm L	1	—	—	—	1	
	Willelm T	1	—	—	—	1	
						—	
CANTERBURY	Arnaud	1	—	—	—	1	24
	Henri	—	—	1	1	2	
	Hiun	—	—	1	—	1	
	Ioan	—	—	—	3	3	
	Ioan Chic	—	—	—	1	1	
	Iohan	1	—	—	—	1	
	Iun	—	—	—	1	1	
	Osmund	—	—	—	1	1	
	Roberd	1	—	—	—	1	
	Roger	—	—	—	2	2	
	Roger of R	—	—	—	3	3	
	Salemun	—	—	—	1	1	
	Samuel	—	—	1	1	2	
	Simon	—	—	—	1	1	
	Simun	—	—	—	1	1	
	Tomas	—	—	—	1	1	
	Walter	—	—	1	—	1	
						—	46

		Lawrence Olass					Total	46
		Vb	Vc	VI	VII	brought forward		
ENGLAND (cont.)								
BURY ST.								
EDMUNDS	Norman	—	—	—	3*	3		
	Willelm	—	—	—	1	1		
						—		4
DURHAM	Pierces	—	1	—	—			1
LINCOLN	Hue	1	—	—	—			1
NORTHAMP-								
TON	Adam	1	—	—	—			1
WINCHESTER	Miles	1	—	—	—			1
YORK	Davi	1	—	—	—			1
		—	—	—	—			—
		11	4	13	27			55
		—	—	—	—			—
IRELAND								
DUBLIN	Roberd							3
								—
								58
								—

*Two of these coins are from the same dies, one of them being very double-struck.

J. D. BRAND.

TWO SMALL LATE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY HOARDS FROM CO. TYRONE.

In checking through a small collection of coins in the possession of Capt. J. B. Butler, now living with his son-in-law and daughter, Major and Mrs. G. A. N. Boyne, Kinnaid House, Caledon, Co. Armagh, the writer came across a halferown of William III 1696 OCTAVO, in fairly good condition. It was in a folded-up letter reading as follows:

"The Bank Buildings
Belfast 11 April, 1888.

Mr. Milligan begs to enclose a Wm. 3rd 2/6 to Miss Bernard. This with five others was found recently in a leather purse in a Bog near Castlederg, Co. Tyrone, and were all in good order.

Mr. Milligan arranged with Dr. Bernard to send you the coin'.

Mr. Milligan was Seaton Forrest Milligan, J.P., M.R.I.A., ultimately a director of Robertson, Ledlie and Ferguson. He was local secretary and Vice-President for several years of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland and contributed a number of interesting papers to the *Journal*; he also produced a small guide to Tyrone and Fermanagh.¹

Dr. Walter Bernard, of Buncrana, Co. Donegal, practised in Londonderry and was the uncle of Miss Mary Emily Bernard. It was he who was largely responsible for the restoration between 1874 and 1878 of the great stone fort of Grianan of Aileach, the royal seat of the northern O'Neills, Kings of Ulster. His niece, the aunt of Capt. Butler, lived in Dublin.

Another small cache terminating at approximately the same date, but lower in value, was found at Stewartstown, in the eastern part of County Tyrone, in 1956. This came to the notice of the Ministry of Finance when workmen were digging a sewer trench at Castle Farm in the second week of March.

The coins were as follows: William III, shilling and sixpence, both dated 1696; Scotland, Charles II, bawbee, 1678; Ireland, halfpennies (22). The Irish pieces consisted of Charles II, 1681 (2), 1682 (1), 1683 (3), date uncertain (3); James II, 1686 (1); William and Mary, 1692 (2), 1693 (2), 1694 (3), date uncertain and holed (3); William III, 1696 (1), date uncertain (1).

The extremely worn condition of one William III halfpenny makes it unlikely that this small collection of coins was lost or buried much before the end of the seventeenth century. As there was no re-issue of Irish copper coinage until Wood's halfpence in the reign of George I (1722), the deposit may well have taken place in the early eighteenth century.

The coins were obtained by the Ministry and later handed over to the Ulster Museum.

W. A. SEABY

A 1918 SILVER HOARD FROM LURGAN, CO. ARMAGH.

On Friday 4 September 1964 Mr. Patrick McGeown, a builder's labourer, employed by Messrs. Lavery, building contractors, was breaking up rubble (taken from a row of cottages in Lake Street, Lurgan, which were being demolished and dumped by lorry at a new housing site on the Portadown Road) when his

pick struck a small linen bag amongst the débris and he heard a tinkling of money. On picking up the bag he found inside the remains of a paper packet with the name and address of a former local grocery store which was in existence c. 1900-48 (M. O'Neill, Family Grocers, Tea and Coffee Dealers, Wine and

¹ Mr. R. H. M. Dolley reminds me that it was Milligan's letter to Dr. Frazer which was the principal evidence for his reconstructing the summary form

of the hoard of Hiberno-Norse and Anglo-Saxon pennies found near Ballycastle in 1890. See *Ulster Journ. Archaeol.* xxiv & xxv (1961/2) pp. 88-90.

Spirit Stores, 2 Church Place, Lurgan) and £20 in silver coins, £16 being in halferowns and £4 in florins. Examination of the linen bag revealed faintly the words: WALKERS/PARKER CO.'S/ (Limited)/PATENT SHOT/CHESTER/6 surmounted by the Royal Arms. From the style of the printing, this bag appeared to be of nineteenth century date.

The bags and the coins were shortly afterwards handed in at the R.U.C. (police) station where Sergeant A. J. Kennedy took a statement from McGeown. Later it was learned that the old single-storeyed houses in Lake Street had been in the possession of the Soye family since 1882 and that the present owner was Mr. Richard William Soye, Home Farm, North Street, Lurgan. The tenements were numbered 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, and 15. With the exception of No. 7 which had been vacant for some years all were occupied until July 1964 when the various occupiers were moved out as the result of slum clearance; there had been many changes of tenants down through the years. Mr. Soye, on being questioned, disclaimed any knowledge of money being hidden in any of the premises. Although the police were able to interview all the last occupiers of the houses none could give any information regarding the coins or make any claim on them. Notification was given to each of the intention to hold an inquest.

On instructions from the Head Constable, in consultation with the Coroner for the district, the coins with Sergeant Kennedy's report and list were sent to the Ulster Museum for fuller examination. This was carried out by the writer who also notified Mr. Patrick Shea, Assistant Secretary of the Works Directorate and Secretary to the Ancient Monuments Advisory Council, Ministry of Finance. The coins were found to range from 1846 to 1918 and were made up of 128 halferowns and 40 florins. The hoard was passed over to the Ministry for safe keeping and the Coroner duly informed.

At an inquest held at Lurgan Courthouse on 29 October 1964 before Mr. H. M. Thompson, (Solicitor, 1 Church Street, Portadown) the principal witnesses testified to the discovery and to the silver content of the coins, and the Coroner after hearing all the evidence declared that the coins constituted treasure trove and as such belonged to the Crown¹. From the nature of this find it was suggested that the hoard had been well hidden in the masonry of one of the

old houses in Lake Street, most probably in a small hole at the top of a front or back wall directly under the roof. The dates on the coins, which included 39 pieces of 1918, made it patently clear that the deposit was put down in that year or very early in 1919, certainly before the general issue of any coins bearing the latter date.

The condition of the coins ruled out any idea of the hoard having been amassed over a long period. The very considerable wear on the earlier pieces, with the exception of one or two coins which can be readily explained (see below), and the comparative freshness of the latest coins strongly suggested that the money had been drawn on a bank, probably against payment of Treasury or bank notes. One other possibility might be the conversion of a gold hoard, laid down in or prior to 1914, delay of which had been caused by the intervention of the Great War, with the owner realising that by leaving his 'nest-egg' hidden for too long he might experience difficulty in cashing his gold without questioning.

Lake Street is in a Roman Catholic area and the inhabitants, particularly the older folk up to the period of Partition, would be those most likely to employ the traditional Irish method of conserving their money.² Bank saving deposits might be as much mistrusted as government paper money, which if stored in walls is subject to loss by decay or fire, and to attacks by rodents; also it has the disadvantage of being called in when new notes are issued. Once gold had been demonetised there would be no option but to use silver currency. At least one old couple, known to have lived and died in the terrace at the material date, are said to have been of a miserly disposition(!)

The hoard is of interest since it must be almost the latest which could have been concealed before the first debasement of the coinage in 1920; but that the lowering of the silver standard had no bearing on it is evidenced by the total absence of 1919 issues. It may also be considered as one of the last deposits to come within the scope of Treasure Trove as the law in England and Northern Ireland stands at present, for it is doubtful if, without a Treasury or Ministry of Finance ruling capable of being sustained in the courts, the second silver issue of George V which contained 50% alloy could be accepted by any coroner as 'treasure' within the meaning of the Act; *prima facie* the cupro-nickel coinage of 1947 would seem certainly not to fall within this classification.³

¹ A full report on the inquest was given in the *Lurgan Mail*, 6.11.1964. News reports giving brief details of the find were published in the *Lurgan Mail*, 11.9.1964 and in the *Irish News*, 14.9.1964 and *Belfast Telegraph*, 30.10.1964.

² See Seaby 'Two Gold Hoards from Northern Ireland' in *BNJ* xxx (1962), p. 244.

³ I am indebted to Mr. R. H. M. Dolley for commenting on these points and for passing on other information contained in the paper.

In the present case, however, the Ministry of Finance waived its claim to the money, realising that numismatic interests had been served by the inquiry. Since it was recognised that the coins were worth more than their face value as collectors' specimens, it was agreed to hand back the entire hoard to Mr. McGeown, as finder. The Ulster

Museum subsequently bought fifty of the coins for its cabinet, Armagh County Museum acquired by purchase a small representation, as also did Mr. Soye, the landowner. The remainder of the coins have been disposed of to Ulster collectors and the coin market, and all monies therefrom paid over to the finder.

Content and Summary List.

Generally speaking the silver showed a very consistent wear over the whole period of seventy or more years which it covered. Exceptions were no. 129, the Gothic florin of 1856, which had an exceptionally well raised rim on the obverse preventing undue rubbing of the legend on that side; also no. 137, the Jubilee florin of 1887. In the latter case the relatively good condition was almost certainly due to its being one of the souvenir pieces which were put aside by many persons during that year; probably it only got back into circulation after the old Queen's death or on the death of the original owner. It is not a specimen from one of the proof sets but a normal issue. Several of the Edwardian half-crowns had well-raised rims which had also to some extent prevented their reduction by wear.

Of the nine Gothic florins, all were in so poor a condition that only the last two or three figures of the dates could be distinguished; however, enough remained of the details generally to assign dates to all of them. More difficult was the dating of several Edward VII two shilling pieces, the last figure being in a position to receive most wear and in one case at least was completely obliterated. The average weight of eight of the earliest halfcrowns (1846-87) was 205.75 grains as against eight of the best halfcrowns of 1918 which on average gave full weight at 218.00 grains; the average weight of ten florins (1856-87) was 166.10 grains as against ten of George V (1915-18) which averaged out at 174.10 grains. This showed a metal loss of approximately 12.25 and 8.25 grains respectively in the older pieces as against nil and .25 of a grain in the later series. Four halfcrowns and five florins of Edward VII showed an overall loss per coin of 3 grains.

*Halfcrowns*¹

1-26. Victoria:

(Y.H.) 1846 (S. 680) 1; 1878 (S. 701) 1; 1881 (S. 707) 2; 1884 (S. 712) 2; 1885 (S. 713) 1; 1886 (S. 715) 4; (J.H.) 1887 (S. 719) 1; 1889 (S. 722) 4; 1891 (S. 724) 1; (O.H.) 1893 (S. 727) 1; 1895

(S. 729) 1; 1896 (S. 730) 3; 1898 (S. 732) 2; 1899 (S. 733) 1; 1900 (S. 734) 1.

£3. 5. 0d.

27-37. Edward VII:

1902, raised rims (S. 746) 2; 1906 (S. 751) 2; 1907 (S. 752) 3; 1908 (S. 753) 1; 1909 (S. 754), one with raised rim, 2; 1910 (S. 755) 1.

£1. 7. 6d.

38-128. George V:

(A) 1911 (S. 757) 3; 1912 (S. 759) 4; 1914 (S. 761) 13; 1915 (S. 762) 12; 1916 (S. 763) 13; 1917 (S. 764) 15; 1918 (S. 765) 31.

£11. 7. 6d.

Florins

129-142. Victoria:

Gothic (B1) 1856 (S. 813) 1; (B3) 1872 Die 9 (S. 840), Die 46 (S. 840) 2; 1874 Die 10 (S. 843) 1; (B5) 1878 Die 2 (S. 849) 1; (B8) 1883 (S. 859) 1; 1884 (S. 860) 2; 1886 (S. 863) 1; (J.H.) 1887 (S. 868) 1; 1890 (S. 872) 1; 1892 (S. 874) 1; (O.H.) 1900 (S. 884) 2.

£1. 8. 0d.

143-149. Edward VII:

1903 (S. 921) 1; 1905 (S. 923) 1; 1906 (S. 924), two doubtful, 3; 190-(S. ?) 1; 1909 (S. 927) 1.

14s. 0d.

150-168. George V:

(A) 1911 (S. 929), one with raised rim, 2; 1912 (S. 931) 1; 1914 (S. 933) 1; 1915 (S. 934) 5; 1916 (S. 935) 1; 1917 (S. 936) 1; 1918 (S. 937) 8.

£1. 18. 0d.

Face value total £20. 0. 0d.

W. A. SEABY

¹ Reference: H. A. Seaby: *English Silver Coinage from 1649* (second edition, 1957).

REVIEWS

The Coinage of Ancient Britain, by R. P. MACK.

8½ × 5½ ins. Pp. xli + 195 including 19 maps + Plates XXXII. Second edition 1964: London, Spink and Son Ltd., and B. A. Seaby. Price 40/-.

THE first edition of this book (1953) marked a great advance in the study of Celtic numismatics, providing as it did an easy system of reference and a full coverage of illustration. Mack numbers have come to stay. But inevitably there were gaps of omission here and there, quite apart from new varieties subsequently discovered in surprising numbers. These gaps have now been made good in a second edition with additional numbers (so that the original numbers have not been altered except in the case of one or two duplicates), and the book is greatly expanded. The distribution maps have been redrawn much more tastefully and corresponding lists of find-spots have been added, though not in the detail given by D. F. Allen in his *Origins*. Account has been taken of Allen's work of classification, in that the older inaccurate names of the continental coinages (Bellovacii, Morini, etc.) though still usefully quoted, have yielded pride of place to Allen's classes (Gallo-Belgic A, E, etc.). It is all the more odd to find that this process of conflation stops short of the British uninscribed series. It would be useful to have these equations not only for completeness and for neatness' sake (*British O* is neater as a name than *Geometric Quarter-staters struck in Britain*) but for ease of cross-reference (the multiplicity of rather woolly traditional terminology is one of the obstacles to clear thought and logical arrangement in this subject). But it is also required because some of the old names are misleading, e.g. *Uninscribed Regni quarter-staters*. Here *Regni* is a solecism for *Regnenses*, a people who themselves only appear in the Flavian period when Cogidubnus' *regnum* was converted into a *civitas*. The uninscribed quarter-staters belong to an altogether earlier horizon, and if a tribal name has to be provided they are Atrebatii.

This edition will be warmly welcomed by students. Its possession, indeed, is a necessity since it is so much fuller than the first. Our only regret must be that the original blocks appear to have been lost and replaced with photographic copies. This has resulted in darker illustrations considerably less clear than the originals. References and acknow-

ledgements are given to the more detailed studies of D. F. Allen in the preface, where, however, it would have been useful to record for the benefit of students that the 'Bagendon Report' was edited by Mrs. E. M. Clifford under the title *Bagendon, A Belgic Oppidum*, and published by Heffer, Cambridge, 1961 and that Allen's *Origin of Coinage in Britain* was published in *Problems of the Iron Age in Southern Britain*, a work edited by this reviewer and published as Occasional Paper No. 11 of the London University Institute of Archaeology, 1961. The book with these added references provides a complete introduction to the Celtic coinage of Britain save in its technological aspects. Further advances require the production of corpora (as in the *Sylloge* series), for it is only from a study of a number of examples of any issue that the complete die can be made out; and it would clearly be unreasonable in a work of this overall character to look for multiple illustrations of each type. The present reviewer is in course of compiling a card-index with photographs of all known specimens with details of weight, specific gravity and find-spot; and this index, incomplete but growing, can be consulted at the Institute of Archaeology.

S. S. F.

Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles. The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, National Museum, Copenhagen. Part I, Ancient British and Anglo-Saxon Coins before Æthelred II. by GEORGE GALSTER. Published for the British Academy, 1964. Price 70/-

The Royal Collection at Copenhagen has long been known as one of the primary sources for the Anglo-Saxon numismatist, but its contents have never received the attention they deserve. The publication of the first of a six-volume series, under the auspices of the *Sylloge* committee, which will eventually include the whole Copenhagen Anglo-Saxon collection, is a major event; for the union of the collections of C. J. Thomsen (1788-1865) and L. E. Bruun (1852-1923), two of the most distinguished and scientific collectors of their day, with that accumulated in Denmark from the 17th century onwards, has produced an unequalled range, both in breadth and in depth, of the coinage of the Viking settlements in England, a series more admired for its variety and abused for

its unintelligibility than any other. There are other things that should be noted; important coins of Coenwulf (58) and Ecgbearht (654), an unique coin of Aethelstan from the York mint by a moneyer who is not the ubiquitous Regnald (693), another Aethelstan from the SMRIE mint (703), and a most handsome Eadwig of the Exeter mint of BMC type v (both the obverse and reverse of circumscription type). There seem, too, to be two major parcels from unpublished hoards: eleven coins of Burgred from the Serrure sale (Paris, 1857), and thirty-four coins bought from William Webster, the London dealer, in 1856, chiefly Eadred and pre-reform Eadgar. Nor should a long run of coins of all periods and all degrees of quality purchased for Copenhagen at the Montagu sale in 1895 pass unmentioned here.

The chief glory of this first volume is the Viking coinage; the collection boasts, for example, sixteen coins of the Anlafs, six of Eric Bloodaxe, two St. Martin pennies, one Sihtric Caech, and a Regnald Guthfrithsson. One can see, for the first time in the *Sylloge* series, the whole sweep from 'Halfdene's' murky 9th century halfpenny to the 'sword' coins of Eric Bloodaxe, harking back to glories that no longer animated the York mint in 952; and, because there are no gaps except those which in fact English occupation created, the slow process by which the Danes of York and their coinage were assimilated into the general structure of England becomes apparent.

Of great interest also is the up-to-date list of hoards and single finds of Anglo-Saxon coins in Denmark (with a distribution map), which Dr. Galster has provided. All the Anglo-Saxon coins from the Terslev (1911) and Sejrø (1858) finds can be found illustrated in the body of the book. Those who are perplexed by conversion from grammes to grains will find a reprint of the relevant section of the British Museum's admirable handbook, and those who are interested in the history of numismatics will read Dr. Galster's review of the progress of Anglo-Saxon studies in Denmark with attention, if enviously noting the care successive keepers of the Copenhagen collection have given to the study of hoards. There are places, it must be said, where Dr. Galster has not made use of recent English research, notably in his treatment of the Northumbrian styca coinage; and the arrangement of the coins of Eadgar is not calculated for the reader's convenience. Fortunately none of these seriously affect this volume, but one hopes that in future volumes the order of the coins will be brought into line with modern practice, without which serious difficulties can be foreseen.

H. E. P.

English Hammered Coinage, Vol. I. Early Anglo-Saxon—Henry III. c. 650–1272. By J. J. NORTH. Published by Spink & Son, London, 1963. 200 pp., 16 plates. £4.

The distillation of specialised works by many scholars into a comprehensive handbook is a formidable task in any subject and in English medieval numismatics it is one which has deterred students for over thirty years. The original excellence and enduring qualities of Brooke's *English Coins* has had much to do with this but the intensely detailed character of modern research has made the compiler's problem of presenting its results without omission or distortion particularly difficult. That Mr. North has succeeded so far in doing so is a tribute to his scholarship, selective judgment and painstaking hard work.

In his first volume Mr. North deals with the English coinage from the seventh century until the end of the Long Cross series. The lists of coins are preceded by a history of the period in which the development of the coinage is outlined against the political background and particularly valuable is the relatively greater prominence given to general history prior to the accession of Edward the Confessor. If the compression of more than six centuries of history into sixteen pages inevitably results in a certain baldness of expression the facts presented will serve as a useful introduction for the non-specialist.

The coin lists and notes which follow are an admirable synthesis of recent studies. Not a few of the papers fundamental to an understanding of the currently accepted classifications of Anglo-Saxon coins must be inaccessible to everyone except the few within reach of an unusually comprehensive reference library. Even these will be grateful to Mr. North because not only does he make available a wealth of material otherwise to be found only in foreign publications and local journals of limited circulation but he also incorporates into his lists and gives weight to the combined significance of many important but isolated discoveries whose original publication, albeit in well-known periodicals, is scattered in a series of notes over a period of years. In presenting these results it is natural that the work should reflect the concentration of recent numismatic effort on certain periods, especially the century after the accession of Offa and the later Saxon period from Aethelred II to the Conquest, and that it should treat in a more summary fashion those reigns such as Burgred and Edward the Elder which, at least as far as publication is concerned, have been comparatively ignored.

In unavoidably drawing attention to this imbalance Mr. North may persuade numismatists to correct it, in part at least, before his book reaches its second edition. The advances made in recent years in the study of Norman and Plantagenet coins do not immediately attract the reader's attention in the spectacular way of those in the earlier section of the book but a study of the tables reveals how much work has been done in this series also and how well Mr. North has succeeded in collating it.

Throughout the book particular care has been taken with the rendering of the legends, special type being used, for example, for the Runic inscriptions on the sceattas and to illustrate the different letter forms found on the coins of Alfred. In view of this attempt to reproduce as exactly as possible what appears on the coins one must regret the author's decision not to use *ð* and *þ* and to substitute *u* for *v*. Even he however seems to have found this latter a little unnatural, for on p. 46 he mentions 'vdb' and on p. 60 'CENVVLF' and 'COENUULF' both appear. It is claimed that the obverse legend is given for nearly all the coins listed but unfortunately this is often only one of a number of known readings and despite the restrictions of space one would like to have seen more variants included or at least to have had some indication that such exist. This seems especially necessary when the coin chosen to illustrate a particular type has a different reading from the coin given the same number in the text, e.g. sceatta No. 155. Cynethrith No. 339 reads '... REGINA' in the text and '... REGIN' on the plate. At least if one is expected to assume abbreviation one may hope to have the fullest reading given. There is no indication in the text that the ethnic ever appears in the legends on coins of Ceolwulf II. No. 429 reads 'CIOLUULF REX' in the text and the variant 'CEOLVULF REX M' on the plate.

One of the books principal merits is its clear exposition of the latest theories concerning the classification of individual types. Not only are obverses and reverses fully described but notes with drawings of variant types and busts are often given, no less than three groups of Aethelred II, Hand, Crux and Small Cross, being considered in this way. The Norman and Plantagenet series are rather less handsomely treated where additional drawings are concerned and one must rely more heavily on the plates. Generous illustration is given however to the different busts of the Tealby coins and to the letter forms which are now recognised to be the principal criteria for the classification of the Short Cross series. Among his accurate descriptions of reverse types the author's apparent unfamiliarity

with the Roman and Byzantine prototypes of some coins stands out. The derivation of the 'man with crosses' sceatta is confused and surely it is because the die maker did NOT copy the original each time that the evolution of types took place. One of the building types of Edward the Elder is based on what is here wrongly called the 'Providentiae Augusti' type. The legend on the original coin reads 'PROVIDENTIAE AVGG' but if an expansion is required then it must be 'Providentiae Augustorum'. The head on the Pendred gold piece is described as diademed when it is in fact laureate as one would expect from its evident derivation from a first century original.

Mules seem to have had less attention than they deserve especially in a case such as the Intermediate Small Cross/Crux type where the mule is in fact more common than the substantive type of the obverse. Other variants which might have been mentioned are the fleur-de-lys and spear-ended sceptres on the Trefoil-Quadrilateral type of Edward the Confessor.

The information contained in the tables from Aethelred II onwards will be of value to all interested in the series and are an advance on Brooke in that they show the types known and not known for each mint. Into these lists has gone much patient work not only in incorporating from scattered sources the new mints and moneyers now known for each type but also in the careful relisting of those coins whose attribution has been changed since the publication of the standard works. One is impressed by their accuracy and by the fact that they include finds which must have been made only a very short time before the book went to press, e.g. the new mint of Cardiff for Henry I on the evidence of a coin from the Llantrithyd excavation. One omission is Paen of Northampton who struck in several classes for Henry I, and in certain cases the spelling given of moneyers' names is incorrect, e.g. 'Soffarth' for 'Seffarth' on p. 143, 'Aeldouf' for 'Aeldoulf' on p. 144 and 'Cristet' for 'Cristret', on p. 146. The use of the ligatured *Æ* is inconsistent, e.g. on p. 143 'Aelfgæt' but 'Aelmar'. One suspects that these are printer's errors. Having been given so much one hesitates to ask more of the author but again one must regret his decision not to draw up tables showing in exactly which classes and mints coins are known for each moneyer since this is precisely the information which is often required. Not given it here the reader must still rely on the now outdated and out of print standard works. Such tables would certainly have represented only the state of knowledge in 1963 but is this not true of the whole book? One appreciates the burden that

this project would have imposed but the inclusion of such tables would have increased greatly the value of the book.

A valuation list is included and comparative degrees of rarity are given but since these are only for types and do not normally take account of mints or moneyers within them their usefulness is limited.

The quality of reproduction in the sixteen colotype plates is excellent and although one may wonder why certain coins in poor condition were included (e.g. the William II Cross-voided type of Colchester) the choice on the whole is admirable, having included one or more coins of each of the types and mints working during the period. Although it is difficult to see why the same numbers were not used to distinguish the coins in the plates and in the text the index to the plates is helpfully interleaved with the appropriate illustrations, so that the location of each coin in the lists may be read off at a glance. It is a pity that in six cases the page references are incorrect. Nos. 465 and 467 are on p. 71, not p. 72

802 (Dover) is on p. 121, not p. 128

949 and 950 are on p. 160, not p. 159

961 is on p. 162, not p. 163.

There is no way of telling from the text which coins are illustrated and in a second edition an asterisk might be inserted to mark these.

The mints of the period are located on three excellent maps. A fourth showing the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms c. 775 does not match them in either appearance or accuracy. At its scale York is some miles east of the Ouse and the Watling Street takes an unusual course through the centre of Tamworth terminating in the vicinity of Shrewsbury.

The book closes with a detailed bibliography and a series of appendices including illustrations of alphabetic forms, tables of average weights and, most notably, a fully documented section on the history of each of the mints striking coins during the period.

The value of the book to the student and collector is immediately obvious but it will also be of great service to the archaeologist and to the museum curator trying to identify coins with few reference books and an inadequate collection of comparative material. In his preface and footnotes the author acknowledges the help given to him by many specialists and it in no way detracts from Mr. North's own major achievement to say that this book owes much to their generous collaboration.

M. M. A.

The Coins of the British Commonwealth of Nations to the End of the Reign of King George The Sixth.
By F. PRIDMORE. *Part I; European Territories.* 1960. pp. 98. £2 10 0. *Part II; Asian Territories.* 1964. pp. 336. £4 10 0. Both vols. 9½" × 7½". Spink & Son, London.

A definitive catalogue of all British Colonial and Commonwealth coins has long been overdue: not since Atkins' work in the later years of the last century has any real attempt been made to provide a complete catalogue of the coins and tokens of all our overseas territories. The task has been attempted in part, and only in part, in the intervening years by others to whom much credit is due: some of them have produced type-catalogues, some detailed works on particular territories, others have produced general narratives and yet others have turned their attention to compiling lists with valuations for every condition of each coin listed.

Capt. Pridmore is tackling the job in the grand manner. The two volumes that have so far appeared give a brief numismatic history of each territory in turn followed by a detailed description of each coin. Patterns and proofs are included in profusion, and in the wide 'remarks' column of every page is ample evidence of the care and attention to detail that is so necessary and which raises this work to a level that proclaims it as the standard work on the subject for a very long time to come.

Each coin type is illustrated but, alas, some of the photographs could have been better reproduced. However, even in those that are below the average standard there is sufficient clarity to prevent mis-identification, particularly when read in conjunction with the descriptions.

Those conversant with Pridmore's articles in the *Numismatic Circular* and elsewhere must be aware that he presents his evidence for attribution of a coin to a particular territory or period in such a manner that the reader is left beyond all doubt that the last word has been said on the matter: in the volumes under review his style is clear and factual, and whenever he expresses an opinion about the attribution or genuineness of a coin one can be sure that much evidence has been sifted before the opinion is given.

Comments in these two volumes about attractiveness of design are hard to find. No mention is made of the generally acknowledged fineness of the designs of the Hong Kong pattern dollars—which accord the reader a rare numismatic treat by being all in one volume for once. Instead the cryptic but true comment passed on the Palestine coinage that 'as a series the coins are dull and lack any

artistic merit' is about the sum total of the author's opinions on design.

Where known, the catalogue lists the number of coins struck. This is not always a valid indication of rarity: for example, fourteen million Straits Settlements dollars were struck during 1920-21 but were until recently quite difficult to obtain. However, until standard definitions of the various degrees of rarity are evolved, the striking quantity is perhaps the most factual criterion, particularly where it is stated that additional evidence is known that certain strikings were only issued in part or were quickly recalled.

Those interested in the minutiae of die varieties need not be disappointed; collectors of Guernsey coins have all the 'leaf and berry' varieties given in full. On the other hand the relative positions of the obverse and reverse dies has not been given for any piece because it is said to be of no real importance on modern coinages. It is well known that 'ghosting' is caused by the uneven spread of metal under the press when striking those coins in which

the two sides have been designed with little or no co-ordination. In this connection the relative position of the dies can produce a quite unacceptable result if one is inverted, thereby causing uneven metal flow and giving rise to the shadow of the design of one side appearing on the other.

The volume on Europe omits the Anglo-Hanoverian coinage which sadly lacks a complete illustrated catalogue: for this series one must still fall back on Atkins. Volume II omits the coinage of India which is sufficiently large a subject to warrant a volume of its own, that is understood to be 'in active preparation', as is that covering the West Indies.

One has the feeling that the present work is, by its very completeness, the final word on the coinage of many of our overseas territories, for the wind of independence is in the air and one by one the chapters of our colonial numismatic history are being closed for all time.

A. G. S.

OBITUARY

JOHN WALKER, C.B.E., M.A., D.LITT., F.B.A.,
F.S.A., M.R.A.S.

DR. JOHN WALKER—the formula ‘Dr. J. Walker’ was ever anathema to him—was not formally a member of our Society, but it is fitting that we should here pay tribute to him as its friend. An Orientalist of international repute, the author of standard catalogues of Islamic coins, he brought to his Keepership at the British Museum a rare insight into the problems and needs of the too often overshadowed if never yet wholly neglected English series. Here it is possible to instance only a few manifestations of an unobtrusive but consistent solicitude. We may begin with his whole-hearted acceptance of the suggestion that our present President should be invited to publish his great work on the English copper, tin and bronze as a British Museum catalogue, and it is pleasant that he lived to see the vindication of this generosity when within four years and despite an unprecedentedly large initial printing a second edition was not only needed but the demand for it met. During Dr. Walker’s Keepership, too, mediaeval historians had begun to exhibit a new interest in the Anglo-Saxon series, and it was of course Dr. Walker’s benevolence that made it possible for more than one member of his staff to spend long hours inside and outside the Museum collecting the material on which the new understanding of the series is so largely founded. Not once was a request for special leave of absence refused, and facilities were also given for students to be trained in the new methods in the Coin Room itself.

Himself the author of an admirable report on an Anglo-Saxon hoard (*NC* 1945) Dr. Walker was keenly aware of the value of finds, and during his Keepership no mediaeval hoard—or parcel from a hoard—was dispersed without a proper record being made, and publication undertaken. A less conscientious scholar might well have grudged the time that his subordinates devoted to this service to posterity, while another of his contributions to British and Irish numismatics was the welcome which he extended as an Editor for many years of the *Numismatic Chronicle* to papers on British and Irish subjects which otherwise might have had to be held over for several numbers of our *Journal*. One ought to mention, too, not only his definitive sketch of the history of the Department

of Coins and Medals (*BMQ* XVIII, 3), but also the encouragement he gave to Mrs. Martin’s researches into a wide range of Museum archives, researches which have often thrown new light on a variety of aspects of the English series, and we may instance her discovery of the find-spot of the *climosina* piedfort of Ælfred the Great (*A/S Coins*, pp. 230–231).

A major event during his Keepership was the dispersal of the great Lockett cabinet. Fortunately his predecessors had prepared the Trustees for this eventuality, but in an inflationary age all their groundwork might have been in vain had not the new Keeper been prepared to shoulder a fantastically heavy burden of administration. Funds had to be approached, the competing claims of different bodies adjudicated, important issues of principle evaluated, ruffled personalities soothed, and the generosity of the Lockett family and of other benefactors suitably acknowledged. One bulky file does not embrace a half of the paperwork, but a lasting monument will be found in the run of Lockett coins in the British Museum trays. As far as the mediaeval series is concerned the writer can think of only one coin which the National Collection really coveted and was not able to acquire, and in this case its non-acquisition was due solely to the piece fetching a price which could not have been anticipated in the conditions then obtaining. The same far-sighted policies were, however, manifest on less spectacular occasions, and over the years there were added to the Museum cabinets not only some splendid specimens from the more notable sales but also a large number of pieces which in the aggregate remedied what are occasionally quite serious gaps in the English series. One may cite here, perhaps, the Viking pieces from the Erskine collection (*BMQ* XXI, 3), and the group of *Subsidiary Long Cross* pennies of Æthelræd II picked up for modest sums when Mrs. Smart first drew the Museum’s attention to the significance of this hitherto unrecognized variety (see *BNJ* 1965). Such a discriminating policy as regards both coins and benefactors could not but have its triumphs, and it was appropriate that one of the last great acquisitions which the Museum made during his Keepership should have been the gold penny of King Offa, lost to scholarship since the seventeenth century. When the full story of this gift comes to be written, it will perhaps be fully recognized how

good a friend to English numismatics we have lost, and also how justified was his policy in reposing complete confidence in the Department's trusted friends. Nor would it be proper to pass over in silence the happy relations continued or established with other institutions, and it is noteworthy that under his aegis and in a spirit of perfect unity final arrangements were made for the National Museum of Wales and the Ulster Museum to receive treasure trove found in their respective spheres of interest. Local museums, too, have reason to remember Dr. Walker with gratitude. Had he not been not only sympathetic but active on their behalf behind the scenes, the Norwich Museum might never have secured the great bulk of the Morley St. Peter hoard, nor the Belfast Museum (now the Ulster Museum) obtained the grants that made possible the acquisition of the entire Carlyon-Britton cabinet of Irish coins. It should not be thought, though, that the Keeper could be imposed upon where the legitimate claims of the British Museum were at stake, and he adroitly repelled with conspicuous success more than one injudicious, even if well-meaning, assault upon the English National Collection's prerogatives in the matter of treasure trove.

A characteristic story tells how Dr. Walker astonished an Organization and Methods expert and his more pompous and Parkinsonian colleagues by suggesting that something must be wrong with their approach if the administration of their

departments could not be confined to the period before morning coffee. Granted that the late Keeper was in his study considerably earlier than many of his confrères, and granted that there were times when a Lockett Sale might mean days on end of interminable correspondence and often tedious discussion, the tale has the ring of truth. He was a man who did not believe in keeping dogs and barking himself, and one of his secrets was to have confidence in his subordinates. Occasionally this trust may have been abused, but certainly we in the British Numismatic Society have especial reason to remember Dr. Walker with gratitude. He was always glad to allow members of his staff to serve as officers of our Society, and our Editors will testify to the further very substantial contribution which the Coin Room made in the way of casts and photographs to each and every number of our *Journal*. Dr. John Walker was proud of his Gaelic ancestry and loved a good story even against the Scots, and to end on a personal note, as may seem permissible in the case of so warm a personality, the writer will ever regret that at a very happy last encounter he forgot to remind him of another John the Scot's icy 'Tabula tamquam' when the Emperor Charles the Bald essayed an already hoary witticism borrowed from Theodulf's store.

Suaimhneas siorraidhe go bhfaighidh sé!

R. H. M. D.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, 1964

PRESIDENTS OF THE SOCIETY

1903-8	P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
1909	W. J. ANDREW ESQ., F.S.A.
1910-14	P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
1915-19	LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.
1920-1	FREDERICK A. WALTERS, F.S.A.
1922	J. SANFORD SALTUS—till 22 June
1922	GRANT R. FRANCIS—from 28 June
1923-5	GRANT R. FRANCIS
1926-7	MAJOR W. J. FREER, V.D., D.L., F.S.A.
1928	MAJOR P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.—till 20 February
1928	LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.—from 22 February
1929-32	LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.
1933-37	V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.
1938-45	H. W. TAFFS, M.B.E.
1946-50	CHRISTOPHER E. BLUNT, O.B.E., F.S.A.
1951-4	EDGAR J. WINSTANLEY
1955-8	HORACE H. KING, M.A.
1959-63	DEREK F. ALLEN, B.A., F.S.A.
1964-	C. WILSON PECK, F.S.A., F.P.S.

THE JOHN SANFORD SALTUS MEDAL

This medal is awarded by ballot of all the members triennially to 'the member of the Society whose paper or papers appearing in the Society's publications shall receive the highest number of votes from the members as being in their opinion the best in the interest of numismatic science'.

The medal was founded by the late John Sanford Saltus, Officier de la Légion d'Honneur, of New York, a Vice-President of the Society, by the gift of £200 in the year 1910.

Medallists

1910	P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
1911	MISS HELEN FARQUHAR
1914	W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.
1917	L. A. LAWRENCE, F.S.A.
1920	LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.
1923	H. ALEXANDER PARSONS
1926	GRANT R. FRANCIS, F.S.A.
1929	J. S. SHIRLEY-FOX, R.B.A.

1932	CHARLES WINTER
1935	RAYMOND CARLYON-BRITTON
1938	WILLIAM C. WELLS
1941	CUTHBERT A. WHITTON
1944	Not awarded
1947	R. CYRIL LOCKETT, J.P., F.S.A.
1950	CHRISTOPHER E. BLUNT, O.B.E., F.S.A.
1953	DEREK F. ALLEN, B.A., F.S.A.
1956	F. ELMORE JONES
1959	R. H. M. DOLLEY, B.A., F.S.A.
1962	HORACE H. KING, M.A.

(For Officers and Council for 1964 see Vol. XXXII, page 227)

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 28 January, Mr. C. Wilson Peck, President, in the chair, Mr. Evans C. Goodling and Mr. Victor H. Lindlahr were elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr. M. E. Millichamp was elected to Junior Membership. The President told Members about the decision of Council to invite Mr. Dolley to become the Corresponding Member of the Society for Ireland, and to join the Editorial Committee. Mr. Philip Grierson read a paper entitled 'Some Aspects of the Gold Sovereign of Henry VII'.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 25 February, Mr. C. Wilson Peck, President, in the chair, Dr. W. C. Duffy, M.D., Mr. David Hess, Dr. J. Lavertine, M.D., Mr. Peter H. Sawyer, and the Willis Museum, Basingstoke were elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr. Tyndall Martin Jones and Mr. Robert H. Thompson were elected to Junior Membership. The President announced the death of Dr. Mattingly and spoke of his outstanding services to numismatic science. Mr. Ian Stewart read a paper entitled 'An 18th Century Manx Hoard of Early Scottish Sterlings'.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 24 March, Mr. C. Wilson Peck, President, in the chair, Mr. F. R. Cooper, Mr. John Crawford Wood, and Cornell University Library, Ithaca, N.Y. were elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr. S. N. Russell was formally admitted to Ordinary Membership, and Mr. R. H. Thompson to Junior Membership. Mr. I. H. T. Hooke read a paper on the deterioration of pennies in circulation. Mr. Fearon read a paper on General Gordon's Khartoum Star.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 28 April, Mr. C. Wilson Peck, President, in the chair, Dr. Tadashi Izumiya and Mr. Keith Showering were elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr. D. R. D. Edmunds was formally admitted to Ordinary Membership. The President made two announcements: 1. The son and daughter of the late Dr. L. A. Lawrence wished to give back to the Society the medals that had been awarded to their father; 2. The Buxton Prize had been awarded to Mr. Fearon, for his paper on General Gordon's Khartoum Star. Mr. D. W. Dykes read a paper on the Irish Coinage of King Henry III.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 26 May, Mr. C. Wilson Peck, President, in the chair, Mr. Emile Tartakow and the General Library, University of California were elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr. I. H. T. Hooke was elected to Junior Membership. Mr. F. Banks and Mr. P. H. Sawyer were formally admitted to Ordinary Membership. The President announced the death of Major Youde, a former Member of Council. Mr. P. H. Sawyer read a paper entitled 'The Wealth of England in the 11th Century'.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 23 June, Mr. H. King, Vice-President in the chair, Mr. M. E. Freehill was elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr. Lyon read a paper entitled 'A Mysterious Mint in East Anglia'. Mr. D. Sealy read a paper on the Guernsey 8 doubles piece of 1864.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 22 September, Mr. C. Wilson Peck, President, in the chair, Mr. Jan Gajl was elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr. J. D. Brand read a paper entitled 'Some Short Cross Problems'.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 27 October, Mr. C. Wilson Peck, President, in the chair, Mr. Albert A. Kunigisky, Mr. Marvin Lessen, Mr. Herman Ray Loper, Dr. T. Lippin, and Mrs. D. E. Stewart were elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr. Trevor John Howard Cooper and Mr. Stephen Clifford Hardwick were elected to Junior Membership. Mr. M. E. Freehill was formally admitted to Ordinary Membership. Mr. N. J. Ebsworth read a paper entitled 'Some Observations on the Saxon and Norman Mint of Warwick'.

At the Anniversary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on St. Andrew's Day, 30 November, Mr. C. Wilson Peck, President, in the chair, Mr. C. E. Blunt was elected to Honorary Membership of the Society. Mr. Brian Brady and Mr. Roy Ernest Wilson were elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr. Brian Brady was formally admitted to Ordinary Membership, and Mr. Trevor John Howard Cooper and Mr. Stephen Clifford Hardwick to Junior Membership. The following Officers were elected for 1965:

President: C. Wilson Peck, F.S.A., F.P.S.

Vice-Presidents: D. F. Allen, B.A., F.B.A.; A. E. Bagnall; C. E. Blunt, O.B.E., F.S.A.; G. V. Doubleday; H. H. King, M.A.; E. J. Winstanley, L.D.S.

Director: C. S. S. Lyon, B.A., F.I.A.

Secretary: W. Slayter.

Treasurer: Miss M. M. Archibald, M.A.

Librarian: J. P. C. Kent, B.A., Ph.D., F.S.A.

Council: C. H. Allen; Miss M. P. Bellamy, B.A.; J. D. Brand; P. Grierson, M.A., F.B.A.; E. J. Harris, D.Sc.; Major C. W. Lister, R.A.; Commander R. P. Mack, M.V.O., R.N.; Miss E. J. E. Pirie, M.A., F.S.A. (Scot); J. Porteous, M.A.; S. E. Rigold, M.A., F.S.A.; H. Schneider; B. H. I. H. Stewart, M.A., F.S.A. (Scot); J. Weibel; P. D. Whitting, G.M., B.A.

Corresponding Member of Council for Ireland: R. H. M. Dolley, B.A., M.R.I.A., F.S.A.

The President, Mr. C. Wilson Peck, delivered the Presidential Address.

EXHIBITIONS

January

By Mr. P. Grierson:

Six coins with closed crown struck by Maximilian, King of the Romans and Regent of the Netherlands, 1482-1494.

Three coins of Philip the Handsome, Majority 1494-1506, showing the archducal shield, with a different type of closed crown to the above.

February

By Mr. Ian Stewart:

1. Photograph of the first five coins on Snelling's block of 'Coins of the Isle of Man'.
2. David I Sterling, apparently the same coin as Snelling's Fig. 5.
3. Malcolm IV Sterling, ex Bute 210.

March

By Mr. Fearon:

1. General Gordon's Khartoum Star.
2. A medal in white metal, bearing Gordon's head.
3. Two photostats of Sir John Tenniel's *Punch* cartoons.

April

By Mr. C. E. Blunt:

The gold and silver medals awarded to the late Dr. L. A. Lawrence by the Royal and British Numismatic Societies. These medals were being placed on permanent loan at the British Museum.

June

I. By Major Lister:

'Whaddon Chase' Staters.

1. Stater from the same dies as those found at Haslemere. (Dies E).
2. Stater from the Haslemere Hoard. (Dies E).
3. Stater from the Haslemere Hoard. (Dies F).

The first stater shown is from the same dies as those found at Haslemere, the difference being that this one appears to have been in circulation, as it is slightly worn. The other two coins are added for comparison purposes.

II. By Mr. Lyon:

1. Aethelred II Penny, last Small Cross Type: obverse die of late London style (London mint: Eadmund).
2. Ditto: obverse die of East Anglian style, imitating the style of 1 (London mint: 'Elfgt').
3. Ditto: obverse die of late Lincoln style. Quite different style of portrait and lettering (Norwich mint: Ulfcetel).

III. By Mr. Sealy:

1. A series of 8 doubles of Guernsey of 1864, in illustration of the paper, together with relevant literature.
2. A photograph, by the Central Office of Information, of the new coinage head of the Queen, approved June 1964.

September:

Pennies and casts of the Short Cross series, to illustrate the paper.

By Mr. Brand:

1. Casts of the 'Lichfield' penny and another penny, class IIa, moneyer Estivene. (Both from the British Museum.)

2. 12 pennies of class IV. 1-3 IVa; 4-6 IV* (with colon stops); 7-9 IVb; 10-12 IVc.
3. One penny and two casts reading Andrev on R. (One from the British Museum and the other from the Fitzwilliam Museum.)

By Mr. Elmore Jones:

Five Short Cross Pennies of Shrewsbury, exhibiting all known die-combinations of this mint.

October

I. By Dr. Kent:

An Edward IV groat, i.m. Sun and Rose dimidiated, from the Hartford (Huntingdon) Treasure Trove.

II. By Mr. Elmore Jones:

Three unpublished coins of the Warwick mint.

1. Edward the Confessor, B.M.C. Type 15. Unpublished moneyer (Wulfwine) for this type.
2. William I. B.M.C. Type 2. Same moneyer as preceding coin. Unpublished for this type.
3. Stephen. B.M.C. Type 7. Unique of Warwick for this type.

III. By Commander Mack:

Five pennies of the Warwick mint.

1. Aethelstan.
2. Edward the Confessor Type 2.
3. William I Type 5.
4. William I Type 8.
5. William II Type 3.

ADDRESS BY C. WILSON PECK

PRESIDENT OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Delivered at the Anniversary Meeting, 30 November, 1964

It has become customary for this annual address to commence with a report on the all-important state of our membership. So far as I have been able to ascertain death has deprived us of three of our members.

Dr. Harold Mattingly, who died in January of this year at the age of 79, had been a member of our Society for 17 years. Pre-eminent as a classical scholar, he will always be remembered as one of the giants among Roman numismatists with a world-wide reputation. But it was typical of his broadminded and generous nature that his pre-occupation with his Roman studies did not prevent him giving us his support by becoming a very welcome member of this Society. He was truly a man in a million whose death was mourned by numismatists and Roman historians the world over.

Another great loss has befallen numismatics with the passing of Dr. John Walker, Keeper of Coins and Medals at the British Museum, who died on the 12th of this month, less than a year before his intended retirement.

John Walker was unquestionably one of the greatest authorities on the Islamic coinages and his name will always be remembered for his principal work—the *British Museum Catalogue of Muhammedan Coins*. Although he was not a personal member of our Society he was a very good friend to British numismatics. In his capacity as Keeper he was instrumental, not only in acquiring many important British coins for the National Collection, but also in furthering the work on the Scandinavian hoards, the study of which has revolutionized our understanding of the late Saxon series. Moreover, as joint editor of the *Numismatic Chronicle* he always welcomed papers on the British series.

On behalf of all those, including myself, who have had occasion to study in his department at the British Museum I would like to pay tribute to the kindness and courtesy which he invariably extended to everyone. By what I can only describe as a very happy chance the obverse of the portrait medal, which was to have been presented to him by his many friends on his retirement next September, was completed just before he died. This medal will now be presented to Dr. Walker's family at the Annual General Meeting of the Royal Numismatic Society next June.

Lastly I would remind you of the death of Major W. J. C. Youde who was elected to membership in the same year as Dr. Mattingly. Youde was a member of Council for five years but latterly his army duties prevented his regular attendance at our meetings. He was a comparatively young man and a student of great promise in numismatics especially of the Norman Period. In short he was a member we could ill-afford to lose so prematurely.

There have been 8 resignations at least 5 of which were on account of the increased subscription. For any of these who may have left us because of straitened circumstances we can only feel sympathy. Others may have resigned because they have ceased their numismatic interests or activities or moved away from ready access to our meetings. A few such losses are,

I suppose, inevitable and we have no alternative but to accept them with regret. On the other hand it could be that some resignations have come from members still actively collecting at today's high prices who have nevertheless withdrawn their support for the sake of an extra guinea. I most earnestly hope that none of this year's losses falls into this category.

During the year we have elected 17 new ordinary members, 6 junior members, and 3 institutional members. Allowing for the various losses (including four amovals), ordinary membership now stands at 237, juniors at 26, and institutions at 96, making a total of 359.

Many of you may be interested and possibly a little shocked to learn that our present membership is 120 less than it was at the end of the Society's first year. Bearing in mind the enormous increase in the number of collectors especially since the end of the Second World War and the great advances in the quality and quantity of numismatic studies during the same two decades I find today's comparatively small membership rather hard to explain.

Many collectors have neither the time nor the inclination to engage in numismatic research but I would suggest that the least they can do is to join the Society and thereby contribute to the cost of publishing the work of their more active colleagues. I would therefore regard it as a grave omission if, in this address, I failed to urge all members to do their very utmost during the coming year to increase our membership by introducing suitable candidates for election.

In this connexion I would remind you that any member who acts as principal sponsor, that is to say, a member who signs a candidate's proposal form from personal knowledge, bears the not inconsiderable responsibility of ensuring that the candidate really *is* suitable. To this end the proposal should be accompanied by a short note stating the candidate's main numismatic interests and activities.

Despite the recently increased subscription our finances are still under strain owing to the continual increase in the cost of printing the *Journal*. Your Council has continued to explore every possible means in the way of economy consistent with the high standard it has always tried to maintain for the *Journal* which, in its present form, I feel sure all of you will agree has reached a new peak of excellence, and we are very grateful to our very able and painstaking editors, Mr. King and Mr. Blunt, for their achievements. Unfortunately, the *Journal* for 1963, which the editors hoped would be available in time for this meeting, has not yet appeared.

The post of Director, vacated by Mr. Dolley on his removal to Belfast, has been very adequately filled by Mr. Lyon who is to be congratulated on having arranged such a successful programme of papers during the year.

Our Secretary, Mr. Slayter, has again performed his manifold duties with the diligence and zest to which we are becoming accustomed and which I fear we tend sometimes to take too much for granted. Among other things he arranged for the reprinting of our *Byelaws*, and, by now, all of you should have received a copy.

Council's choice of Miss Archibald as our new Treasurer has been amply justified. Her election to this post, which almost coincided with her appointment at the British Museum, could easily have proved too heavy a burden on anyone lacking the exceptional ability which Miss Archibald has shown in coping with her dual responsibility.

Our Librarian, Dr. Kent, reports that Council's decision that he should endeavour to sell as much as possible of our stock of old volumes and parts of the *Journal*, has had very satisfactory results: Miss Archibald tells me that £383 was realized on these sales. While on the subject of funds I wish to express our gratitude to the British Academy for again contributing the sum of £100 towards the cost of printing the *Journal*.

I now turn to a brief survey of the year's activities. Our guest speaker, Mr. P. H. Sawyer, who I am pleased to say is now a member of the Society, read a very interesting and stimulating paper entitled—'The Wealth of England in the Eleventh Century'. I am convinced that we could profit from more studies of this kind for, engrossed as we are so often in classification and differentiating detail, I think we often tend to forget that coins were not struck merely to be looked at, classified, and admired—they were made to be spent! The more we can learn, therefore, of the quantity of coin in circulation and of the purchasing power of each denomination at different periods, the more able we shall be fully to appreciate the broader aspects of our subject.

Of the several other important papers read, that by Mr. Grierson—'Some Aspects of the Gold Sovereign of Henry VII', was notable, in my view, for his use of what I might call non-numismatic material in support of his argument. This method of approach is not new, but Mr. Grierson's example will serve to remind us that the study of coins can sometimes benefit considerably from the evidence afforded by carefully selected outside material.

At the Junior Members Meeting in April Mr. D. Fearon read a paper entitled 'General Gordon's Khartoum Medal' for which he was awarded the Buxton Prize for 1964. I feel I must add that Council was rather disappointed that this prize was not contested more vigorously—only two papers were submitted. I must remind junior members that, at its inception in 1962, the junior evening was stated to be in the nature of an experiment and its repetition in future years is dependent on junior members coming forward with short papers on these occasions.

One of the highlights of the Bristol Conference was a survey of the history of the Irish Coinage by a guest speaker, Dr. W. O'Sullivan, of the National Museum, Dublin, who produced positive documentary evidence that the coinage hitherto attributed to Inchiquin is, in fact, Ormonde Money. Members will be pleased to hear that Mr. Blunt, with characteristic acumen, has persuaded Dr. O'Sullivan to give the *Journal* a paper on this major discovery. The typescript is already with the editors, and it should appear next year.

I would now like to mention an event of some interest and importance to all numismatists. One of our members, Mrs. R. N. Smart, formerly better known to you as Miss Veronica J. Butler, has been granted an M.A. degree by the University of Nottingham for her dissertation on 'Coins as Evidence for the Old English Linguist'. The significance of this award is, of course, that numismatics is not a recognized discipline at this University. Thus the acceptance of an approach to philology through numismatics is a very welcome indication of the increasing prestige which Anglo-Saxon numismatics is gaining in the academic world. I would add that Mrs. Smart's thesis has been accepted also by the authorities of the Royal Swedish Coin Cabinet for publication in the series—'Commentationes'.

Excavations at Winchester by Mr. Martin Biddle this summer have unearthed a number of Anglo-Saxon and Norman coins including the fifth known specimen of a round halfpenny of Edward the Elder. A feature of this dig is the splendid condition of several of the pieces. Mr. Blunt, who has visited the site, tells me that he was shown a magnificent specimen of the rare Alfred type B.M.C. v, by the moneyer, Lulla, hitherto known only from the specimen in the British Museum, from the Cuerdale Hoard.

Among several important works devoted to British numismatics that have appeared this year; Mr. Beresford-Jones's *Anglo-Gallic Gold Coins* provides an excellent treatment of a much neglected series on which no work of reference has been written since Hewlett's booklet in 1920. Another welcome publication was the second edition of Commander Mack's *Coinage of*

Ancient Britain. The inclusion in this of recent finds together with new ideas propounded during the last 10 years, notably by Mr. Derek Allen, has resulted in what is virtually a new book. Probably the most remarkable alteration is the switching of the coins hitherto recorded as issued by the Brigantes to the neighbouring, more southerly tribe of the Coritani. More than 70 years ago Sir John Evans expressed his belief that this change might be necessary but it has remained for Mr. Derek Allen to prove the correctness of this prediction. With so little to be gleaned from the sparse history of these early years and a high proportion of uninscribed coins to deal with the arrangement of these tribal coinages has always presented peculiar problems. One might say that the study of this series is now in a wholesome state of flux—always a healthy sign where research is in progress. I sincerely hope that work in this interesting and important field will continue.

In his Presidential Address in November 1959, Mr. Derek Allen voiced the need for a general survey of the state of Anglo-Saxon numismatics. This has now been met by Mr. Michael Dolley's *Anglo-Saxon Pennies* published by the British Museum as one of their series of popular handbooks. Splendidly produced with excellent plates this monograph will be of the greatest help to all numismatists and historians of this period. Mr. Dolley is to be congratulated on having succeeded where others have often failed, for it is probably true to say that a really lucid summary of a complex subject is sometimes more difficult to achieve than a full treatise. Another booklet in this series by Mr. Dolley on Viking coins is in course of publication.

With Mr. Dolley's appointment at Queen's University, Belfast, it was feared, at first, that his active association with the Society might be severed. However, as most of you will recall, his continued collaboration in our affairs was subsequently assured by his election as Corresponding Member for Ireland where I am pleased to say his scholarly accomplishments were quickly recognized by his election as a Member of the Royal Irish Academy.

Work on the *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles* is proceeding apace. The first volume to be published this year, and the fourth in the series, was part 1 of *The Royal Danish Collection, Copenhagen* by G. Galster. This comprises the ancient British and Anglo-Saxon coins before Aethelred II and takes us, therefore, to 978 A.D.: subsequent fascicles will cover the 'great period of finds' in Denmark. I understand that part 2 has already gone to press. The fifth volume of the Sylloge—Miss Pirie's *Coins of the Chester Mint in the Grosvenor Museum, Chester*, is expected in about two months' time. I may add, also, that the editors are already at work on the typescripts of Mr. Stevenson's 'Edinburgh' and Mr. Thompson's 'Ashmolean' fascicles, in both of which Anglo-Saxon pennies predominate.

The eagerly awaited completion of Mr. J. J. North's *Hammered English Coinage* appeared in August. In this we now have a much needed, up to date work of reference on English coins from the Anglo-Saxon period to the end of the hammered series in 1662. To produce an account of over 1,000 years of English coinage, many periods of which are being simultaneously subjected to intense but, as yet, unpublished research, is an immense undertaking. It will not detract in the slightest from Mr. North's personal achievement if I congratulate him on his wisdom in accepting the closest collaboration of such specialists as Mr. Dolley, Mr. Blunt, Mr. Lyon, Mr. Ian Stewart, and Mr. Mossop, in the production of this final volume.

I cannot conclude this brief survey of recent numismatic works without mentioning Mr. J. Porteous's book entitled *Coins*, published last month. This provides a short but very scholarly account of the progress of coining from Greek times to the present day. Printed in Germany—relatively cheaply I am told—this book is especially noteworthy for the excellence of many of the illustrations, some of them in colour.

I now wish to speak to you on a matter which concerns me more personally. In his address last year Mr. Derek Allen observed that I (if elected) would be the first president for many years whose interest lies in milled coins, and that it was high time attention was directed to a period which, over the lifetime of the Society, has failed to receive its deserts. I need hardly add that I am in complete agreement with this.

During the last 12 years or so the Society has been very fortunate in having an exceptionally competent team of Anglo-Saxon specialists who have worked wonders in correcting the errors of the past and in examining and incorporating masses of new material. The enthusiasm of this dedicated band is intense and needs no encouragement from me. Nevertheless I would like them to know how very grateful we are for all the splendid work they are doing.

However—excellent and very desirable as this work may be—I am convinced that such a preponderance of research on these early coins is not entirely good for the Society as a whole.

I must remind you that this Society was established for the study of the coins, tokens and medals of the British Isles and the Commonwealth, yet it needs but a cursory glance through any of our *Journals* issued during the last 30 years to realize that the main focus of attention has been on Ancient British and Anglo-Saxon coins and, to a lesser extent, on the remainder of the hammered series.

Contributions of any substance or importance on the milled coinages have been so few that an outsider might be forgiven for thinking that this series has no place in our studies. It is reasonable to suppose that students and collectors join the Society on the assumption that its work, and in particular its *Journal*, would comprise a well-balanced review of all aspects of British coinage.

There are a great many collectors of milled coins and I firmly believe that a high proportion of these are dissuaded from joining the Society because they realize that little or nothing in the papers read or printed in the *Journal* is likely to be of the slightest help to them in their own particular field. I say this partly by way of stressing that we live in an age of specialization, and this is very well exemplified by numismatics. Few of us have the ability to master thoroughly more than a small part of the content of the British coinage. We need first-class specialists in all its branches and periods if the Society is to live up to its original intentions.

I would go so far as to predict that if a few, good, solid papers on the milled coinages, including those of the Commonwealth, were to appear regularly in our *Journal* there would soon be a considerable increase in our membership. I offer you this thought. Two hundred guineas from fifty new members interested in, and some of them actually working on, the milled series might well be sufficient to pay their way into the *Journal* without necessitating any reduction whatever in the space allotted to the hammered coins.

You will naturally expect me to suggest how this minor revolution might be brought about, but I must admit straight away that I know of no elixir or magic potion that will help us to solve this problem overnight. Few things would have given me greater satisfaction than to be able to announce that a start, at least, had been made on this series at the British Museum, but as this is not the case it would seem that this work will have to be undertaken by the amateur.

As some of you know my own special interest—apart from Roman silver—has always been in the English base metal coinages and for many years it was my constant fear that when the entire English milled series eventually came to be written up in a really substantial manner, the copper series would again be given the scant treatment it had always received when it was

included with the gold and silver coins. I need only to remind you of several books, notably those by Hawkins, Grueber, Charles Oman and Brooke, to make my point clear.

I once heard of a statement made by a person well qualified to know better that the treatment of the English copper series was inseparable from that of the gold and silver. This is, of course, quite untrue. The English base metal coinage was born and reared in a world of its own, and for interest and complexity the history of its evolution is second to none. The very fact of its complexity and semi-isolation may well be the reason why a detailed study of this base metal coinage was considered too difficult to be blended satisfactorily with the corresponding coinages in the precious metals. My reason for this slight digression is to make it clear that, with the English milled copper series disposed of, at any rate for the time being, any complications that might have arisen from this source have been eliminated and the way is now clear for an unimpeded, systematic study of the history and content of the gold and silver coinages from 1662 onwards.

It is common knowledge to all those of you who have already delved deeply that one of the most troublesome and time consuming obstacles to the production of a detailed treatise on any series of coins is—to find the material. As an example; only two-thirds of the coins recorded in the British Museum Catalogue of English copper coins are represented in the Museum's cabinets: the remainder had to be sought in other museums and private collections. I suspect that the material required to produce anything approaching a corpus of the gold and silver coins, even of a single reign, is just as widely dispersed. As I have already said, many of you are only too well aware of these difficulties. I mention them here, not in any way as a discouragement but as a reminder to any less experienced students who might be tempted to take a share in this work, that the task is not an easy one, though it is well worth while.

A slight, initial impetus might be given to this project if as many as possible of our members were to bring the gist of this part of my address to the notice of any non-members known to be seriously interested in British milled coins, particularly specialists on the gold and silver coins of a single period or reign.

In conclusion I would say this. I am sufficiently optimistic to envisage another team—this time, one of experts on the milled series—emerging from among present and future members, who might, in due course, emulate the achievements of their Anglo-Saxon colleagues.

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Balance Sheet as at 31 October 1963

31.10.62			31.10.62		
£	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
6 Subscriptions received in advance		13 13 0	Investments at cost		
15 Subscriptions compounded		13 4 0	£928 5s. 0d. 4½% Defence Bonds	928 5 0	
Sundry Creditors and Outstanding			£500 0s. 0d. 2½% Savings Bonds	426 13 3	
1,241 Charges		76 13 0	1,260		1,354 18 3
J. Sanford Saltus Medal Fund			J. Sanford Saltus Medal Fund		
Capital Account	171 15 0		167 £171 15s. 0d. 4½% Defence Bonds		171 15 0
Less Debit Balance on			152 Library at cost		151 12 5
Income Account	32 6 1		10 Furniture at cost		10 7 6
153		139 8 11	Cash at Bankers and in Hand		
162 Publications and Research Fund		161 16 3	758 Bank Current Account	290 1 8	
Provision for estimated cost			— Bank Deposit Account	400 7 10	
1,100 of 1962 and 1963 Journal		2,200 0 0	368 Post Office Savings Bank	377 6 7	
General Purposes Fund					1,067 16 1
Balance as at 31st October, 1962	37 11 6				
Add Excess of Income over					
38 Expenditure for the year	114 2 7				
		151 14 1			
<u>£2,715</u>		<u>£2,756 9 3</u>	<u>£2,715</u>		<u>£2,756 9 3</u>

Expenditure and Income Account for the Year ended 31 October 1963

EXPENDITURE			INCOME		
1961/62			1961/62		
£	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
13	Printing and Stationery	16 9 11	869	Subscriptions received for 1963	826 1 8
	Expenses of Meetings, Rent and			Subscriptions in arrear received	
21	Library Facilities	21 0 0	57	during year	61 2 9
50	Sundry Expenses	26 6 0			
	Journal Expenses including provision		8	Entrance Fees	
	of £1,100 for 1963 Journal	1,102 9 6		Donations:	
	Less Grant from British Academy	100 0 0		Colonel H. Allcard	100 0 0
1,037		1,002 9 6		W. Zimmermann	3 10 0
—	Buxton Prize	10 0 0		H. H. King	3 3 0
	Excess of Income over Expenditure			A. E. Bagnall	2 2 0
—	carried to General Purposes Fund	114 2 7		Anonymous	30 0 0
			102		138 15 0
			51	Interest received	49 1 8
			32	Sale of back Volumes and Duplicates	54 2 0
				Premium on Redemption of 3½%	
			—	Defence Bonds	24 19 11
			—	Buxton Prize Money	10 0 0
				Excess of Expenditure over Income	
			2	carried to General Purposes Fund	—
£1,121		£1,190 8 0	£1,121		£1,190 8 0

Report of the Auditors to the Members of the British Numismatic Society

WE have obtained all the information and explanations which to the best of our knowledge and belief were necessary for the purpose of our audit. In our opinion proper books of account have been kept by the Society so far as appears from our examination of those books. We have examined the above Balance Sheet and annexed Expenditure and Income Account which are in agreement with the books of account and no credit has been taken for subscriptions in arrear. In our opinion and to the best of our information and according to the explanations given to us, the Balance Sheet gives a true and fair view of the state of the Society's affairs as at 31st October, 1963, and the Expenditure and Income Account gives a true and fair view of the excess of income over expenditure for the year ended on that date.

108A, Cannon Street,
London, E.C.4.
18 November, 1964.

GILBERTS, HALLETT & EGLINGTON
Chartered Accountants

LIST OF MEMBERS

OF THE

BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

30 NOVEMBER, 1965

ROYAL MEMBERS

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF WINDSOR
HIS MAJESTY KING GUSTAV VI OF SWEDEN

MEMBERS

* Honorary Members

- 1957 ALLEN, C. H., ESQ., 53 Sandy Lane, Cheam, Surrey.
- 1935 ALLEN, D. F., ESQ., B.A., F.B.A., F.S.A., Strand End, Grove Park Road, Chiswick, London, W.4.
- 1961 ALLISON, D. N., ESQ., 72a Park Road, Kingston-on-Thames, Surrey.
- 1956 ANDERSON, M. J., ESQ., B.A., Embajada Britanica, Casilla 314, Quito, Ecuador.
- 1962 ARCHIBALD, MISS M. M., M.A., Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, London, W.C.1.
- 1953 ASHBY, J. M., ESQ., M.A., Queensmead, West Temple Sheen, London, S. W. 14.
- 1936 ASSHETON, J. R., ESQ., 42 Jubilee Place, London, S. W. 3.
- 1956 AUSTEN, R. L., ESQ., Westergate House, Fontwell, Arundel, Sussex.
- 1922 BAGNALL, A. E., ESQ., 1 Castle Road, Shipley, Yorks.
- 1963 BAGNALL, A. G., ESQ., 39 West Street, Harrow-on-the-Hill, Middlesex.
- 1938 BALDWIN, A. H., ESQ., 221 Crofton Lane, Orpington, Kent.
- 1922 BALDWIN, A. H. F., ESQ., 1-11 John Adam Street, Adelphi, London, W.C. 2.
- 1941 BALDWIN, W. V. R., ESQ., 30 Lansdowne Road, West Worthing, Sussex.
- 1955 BALLINGAL, N. C., ESQ., 29 Mincing Lane, London, E. C. 2.
- 1962 BANKS, F., ESQ., 16 Westfield Avenue, Beverley, South Yorks.
- 1956 BAREFORD, MR. H. S., 6 East 45th Street, New York 17, N.Y., U.S.A.
- 1946 BARNES, A. E., ESQ., 33 Stratton Road, Beaconsfield, Bucks.
- 1962 BARNETT, W. E., ESQ., 62 Ivy Terrace, Londonderry, N. Ireland.
- 1965 BELL, R. C., ESQ., M.B., F.R.C.S., 20 Linden Road, Gosforth, Newcastle-on Tyne.
- 1960 BELLAMY, MISS M. P., B.A., 109 Cheyne Walk, London, N.21.
- 1953 BERESFORD-JONES, R. D., ESQ., M.A., Wolfden, Swan Street, Sible Hedingham, Essex.
- 1953 BERGHAUS, DR. P., Landesmuseum, Domplatz 10, Münster, Westfalen, West Germany.
- 1965 BIRD, DR. B., 2961 Edgewood Road, Cleveland, Ohio 44124, U.S.A.
- 1963 BLAKELY, D., ESQ., 66 The Green, Norton-on-Tees, Durham.
- 1933^a BLUNT, C. E., ESQ., O.B.E., G.B.A., F.S.A., Ramsbury Hill, Ramsbury, Marlborough, Wilts.
- 1950 BOURGEY, MONS. E., 7 Rue Drouot, Paris, IXe, France.
- 1964 BRADY, B., ESQ., Brady's Arcade, Eden Street, Kingston-on-Thames, Surrey.
- 1960 BRAND, J. D., ESQ., 5 Ridley Road, Rochester, Kent.
- 1948 BRAZENOR, H. C. F., ESQ., Art Gallery and Museum, Church Street, Brighton, Sussex.
- 1942 BRETTEL, R. P. V., ESQ., Cherry Trees, Woburn Terrace, Tavistock, Devon.
- 1933 BRIGGS, MR. L. C., Hancock, New Hampshire, U.S.A.
- 1963 BROOKER, J. G., ESQ., 60a Princes Gate, London, S.W.7.
- 1965 BROOKS, N. P., ESQ., Department of Mediaeval History, St. Andrews University, Fife, Scotland.
- 1954 BROWN, I. D., ESQ., B.Sc., PH.D., McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.

- 1946 BROWN, L. A. ESQ., 18 Victoria Avenue, Surbiton, Surrey.
- 1957 BRUMBY, S., ESQ., 34 Ropery Road, Gainsborough, Lincs.
- 1942 BURSTAL, E. ESQ., M.A., M.D., 1 Overcliffe Mansions, Manor Road, Bournemouth, Hants.
- 1955 BUXTON, MR. E. V., c/o Messrs. Benedict & Benedict, 99 John Street, New York City 38, N.Y., U.S.A.
- 1965 BYDE, A., ESQ., 77 Choseley Road, Knowl Hill, nr. Reading, Berks.
- 1955 CALDERWOOD, R., ESQ., O.B.E., M.D., Crossways, Damhead Lane, Willaston, Wirral, Cheshire.
- 1963 CASTLEDINE, R. J., ESQ., 3 Clowthall Road, Baldock, Herts.
- 1965 CHICK, D. S., ESQ., 41 Albion Road, St. Peters, Broadstairs, Kent.
- 1959 CHILVERS, C. A., ESQ., Market Place, Snettisham, King's Lynn, Norfolk.
- 1965 COOK, MR. P. B., 864 Orchard Hill Road, Zanesville, Ohio, U.S.A.
- 1964 COOPER, F. R., ESQ., Tucks, Shalbourne, nr. Marlborough, Wilts.
- 1955 CORBITT, J. H., ESQ., Glenbrae, Market Lane, Swallowwell, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
- 1959 CRAMP, MISS R. J., M.A., St. Mary's College, University of Durham, Durham.
- 1957 DANSON, E. W., ESQ., 63 Fencers Way, Darley Abbey, Derby.
- 1937 DAVIDSON, J., ESQ., M.B., CH.B., F.R.C.P. (ED.), F.S.A. (SCOT.), Linton Muir, West Linton, Peeblesshire.
- 1961 DAY, DR. M. D. J., B.PHARM., M.P.S., Dept of Pharmacology, School of Pharmacy, Brighton College of Technology, Moulsecombe, Brighton 7, Sussex.
- 1958 DENISON, M. E., ESQ., The Lake House, Valley Road, Chobham, Surrey.
- 1956 DICK, H., ESQ., Fentons Flat 6, Vanbrugh Park Road, Blackheath, London, S.E.3.
- 1951 DOLLEY, R. H. M., B.A., M.R.I.A., F.S.A., Department of Modern History, Queens University, Belfast 7.
- 1946 DOUBLEDAY, G. V., ESQ., Goat Lodge Farm, Great Totham, Maldon, Essex.
- 1962 DOWLE, A. W., ESQ., 43 Portland Avenue, New Maldon, Surrey.
- 1948 DRESSER, MR. J. L., 167 East 90th Street, New York City 28, N.Y., U.S.A.
- 1964 DUFFY, DR. W. C., M.D., 307 St. Dunstan's Road, Baltimore 21212, Maryland, U.S.A.
- 1962 DUPREE, D., ESQ., Stancliffe Hall, Darley Dale, Nr. Matlock, Derbyshire.
- 1963 DYER, C. P., ESQ., The Royal Mint, Tower Hill, London, E.C.3.
- 1954 DYKES, D. W., ESQ., M.A., University College of Swansea, Singleton Park, Swansea.
- 1961 EBSWORTH, N. J., ESQ., 17 Canon Young Road, Whitnash, Leamington Spa, Warwicks.
- 1963 EDMUNDS, D. R. D., ESQ., B.A., Highlands, Fingringhoe, Colchester, Essex.
- 1955 EGAN, H., ESQ., PH.D., 49 Medway Gardens, Wembley, Middlesex.
- 1954 ELLISON, THE VEN. O.O., 1 Westwood Avenue, Leeds 16, Yorks.
- 1949 ELST, M. C. VAN DER, Longue Rue de l'Hôpital 32, Antwerp, Belgium.
- 1946 ERSKINE, THE HON. R. W. H., M.A., 2 Cambridge Place, London, W. 8.
- 1958 FAULKNER, R. G., ESQ.,
- 1965 FAULL, R., ESQ., c/o Messrs. J. M. Finn, Salisbury House, London Wall, E.C.2.
- 1955 FERGUSON, MR. J. D., Rock Island, Quebec, Canada.
- 1965 FITTS, MR. A. M., 215 Albemarle Road, West Newton, Massachusetts 02165, U.S.A.
- 1965 FORDHAM, J., ESQ., 8 Southwood Avenue, Highgate, London, N.6.
- 1946 FORRER, L. S., ESQ., Keizergracht 448, Amsterdam, Netherlands.
- 1960 FORSTER, B. W., ESQ., P.O. Box 5467, Auckland, New Zealand.
- 1950 FORSTER, W., ESQ., 83a Stamford Hill, London, N.16.
- 1964 FREEHILL, M. E., ESQ., Parklands Road, Mount Colah, Sydney, New South Wales.
- 1957 FREEMAN, J. C., ESQ., B.A., LL.B., 65a West Cromwell Road, London, S.W.5.
- 1950 FRENCH, W. C., ESQ., 7 Blenheim Street, London, W.1.
- 1964 GAJL, J., ESQ., 54 Bothel Street, Norwich, Norfolk.
- 1954 GARDNER, T. H., ESQ., May House, Flitwick Road, Ampthill, Beds.
- 1955 GARTNER, J., ESQ., 15 Guildford Lane, Melbourne CI, Victoria, Australia.
- 1960 GERHARDT, CDR. R. J., S.C. U.S.N., 4214 Oakridge Lane, Chevy Chase, Md., U.S.A.
- 1954 GIBBS, P. H., ESQ., c/o National Provincial Bank, 74 Sloane Street, London, S.W.1.
- 1962 GODDARD, J. L., ESQ., 95 Gloucester Court, Kew Road, Kew, Nr. Richmond, Surrey.
- 1954 GOMM, J. D., 16 Madeley Road, London, W.5.
- 1964 GOODLING, MR. E. C., 3531 Stonehaven Road, San Antonio, Texas 78230, U.S.A.
- 1955 GRANT, M., ESQ., C.B.E., LITT.D., F.S.A., Vice-Chancellor's Lodge, 16 Lennoxvale, Belfast 9, N. Ireland.
- 1957 GRIERSON, P., ESQ., M.A., F.B.A., F.S.A., Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.
- 1943 GRIFFITHS, N., ESQ., J.P., The Grange, Abbot's Way, Westlands, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Staffs.

- 1965 GRUNTHAL, MR. HENRY, c/o American Numismatic Society, Broadway-155th Street, New York, N.Y.
10032, U.S.A.
- 1965 HAMILTON, MR. A.
- 1963 HARDING, P. T., ESQ., 86 Torridon Road, Catford, London, S.E.6.
- 1961 HARRIS, E. J., ESQ., D.SC., 149 Alicia Gardens, Kenton, Middlesex.
- 1962 HARTLEY, J. H., ESQ., Broadmoor Bridge Cottage, Cropredy, Nr. Banbury, Oxon.
- 1965 HAWKINS, R. N. P., ESQ., 55 Bingham Road, Addiscombe, Surrey.
- 1965 HESLIP, DR. M. F., PH.D., 127 Mabery Road, Santa Monica, California, U.S.A.
- 1964 HESS, MR. D., Box 15025, Broadview Station, Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70815, U.S.A.
- 1955 HEWITT, THE REV. K. V., 49 Oakfield Road, Croydon, Surrey.
- 1949 HILL, SIR FRANCIS, C.B.E., M.A., LLT.D., LL.M., F.S.A., 2 Lindrum Terrace, Lincoln.
- 1944 HIRD, ALDERMAN H., M.A., F.S.A., 30 Haworth Road, Bradford 9, Yorks.
- 1957 HODGKINSON, P. A., ESQ., Danetree, Terminus Road, Bexhill-on Sea, Sussex.
- 1954 HOWELL, G. F., ESQ., The Royal Mint, Tower Hill, London, E.C.3.
- 1961 HUDSON, DR. R. J., M.D., 121 University Place, Pittsburgh 13, Pa., U.S.A.
- 1961 HUGHES, E. P. M., ESQ., Saint Nicholas Close, Stour Row, Shaftesbury, Dorset.
- 1958 INGHAM, J. H., ESQ., Greytiles, Castle Dene, Chatham Road, Maidstone, Kent.
- 1964 IZUMIYA, DR. T., M.D., 18 Umazuka Yasui Uzumasa Ukyo-Ku, Kyoto City, Japan.
- 1946 JACOB, K. A., ESQ., 32 Gilbert Road, Cambridge.
- 1960 JAN, A. W., ESQ., Ashleigh, High Road, Chipstead, Surrey.
- 1962 JESSOP, H. R., ESQ., 3 Motcomb Street, Belgrave Square, London, S.W.1.
- 1944 JOHNSTONE, DR. E. A., 121 North Road, Clayton, Manchester.
- 1938 JONES, F. ELMORE, ESQ., 133 Moorgate, London, E.C.2.
- 1961 KAY, J. A., ESQ., M.A., B.M., B.CH., 74 Bevendean Avenue, Saltdean, Brighton, Sussex.
- 1954 KENT, J. P. C., ESQ., B.A., PH.D., Department of Coins and Medals, The British Museum, London, W.C.1.
- 1909* KING, H. H., ESQ., M.A., Undershaw Hotel, Hindhead, Surrey.
- 1938 KING, P. I., ESQ., 55 York Road, Northampton.
- 1965 KOFSTAD, MR. K., RT. 1, Box 217, Hartland, Minnesota 56042, U.S.A.
- 1965 KRASNODEDSKI, J., ESQ., 9 St. Lawrence Road, London, S.W.9.
- 1964 KUNIGISKY, MR. A. A., 387 McKinley Avenue, Niagara Falls, New York, 14305, U.S.A.
- 1949 LAINCHBURY, A. W., ESQ., Trigmore, Kingham, Oxon.
- 1956 LAING, W., ESQ., 41 Lytton Avenue, Letchworth, Herts.
- 1961 LANE, S. N., ESQ., Bridestream, Kilcock, Co. Kildare, Ireland.
- 1949 LARSEN, MR. L. V., 1136 Kenilworth Avenue, Coshocton, Ohio, U.S.A.
- 1964 LAVERTINE, J., ESQ., M.D., Hillingdon Hospital, Uxbridge, Middlesex.
- 1947 LAWRENCE, G. W., ESQ.,
- 1964 LESSEN, MR. M., 55 Sea Park Blvd., Apt. 77, Satellite Beach, Florida 32937, U.S.A.
- 1947 LIDDELL, D. G., ESQ., c/o Spink & Son Ltd., 5-7 King Street, London, S.W.1.
- 1964 LINDLAHR, MR. V. H., 420 Lincoln Road, Miami Beach 39, Florida, U.S.A.
- 1946 LINECAR, H. W. A., ESQ., c/o Spink & Son Ltd., 5-7 King Street, London, S.W.1.
- 1950 LINTON, COL. E. C., R.A.M.C. (RET.), Ticehurst Cottage, 11 Harold Road, Deal, Kent.
- 1964 LIPIN, DR. T., M.D., 11 East 87 Street, New York City 28, N.Y., U.S.A.
- 1954 LISTER, MAJOR C. W., R.A., Meadhurst, Meadow Way, Farnborough Park, Kent.
- 1963 LOCKETT, D. G., ESQ., Clonterbrook House, Swettenham, Congleton, Cheshire.
- 1963 LOCKETT, R. B., ESQ., Clonterbrook House, Swettenham, Congleton, Cheshire.
- 1964 LOPER, MR. H. R., 400 Linden Avenue, Dayton 3, Ohio, U.S.A.
- 1963 LUBBOCK, R., ESQ., F.A.C.C.A., 7 Park Grove, Edgware, Middlesex.
- 1945 LYON, C. S. S., ESQ., B.A., F.I.A., Cuerdale, White Lane, Guildford, Surrey.
- 1961 McMILLAN, DR. J., M.D., 907 Live Oak Parkway, Wilmington, N.C., U.S.A.
- 1930 MABBOT, PROFESSOR T. O., 1435 Lexington Avenue, New York City 28, N.Y., U.S.A.
- 1947 MACK, COMMANDER R. P., M.V.O., R.N., West House, Droxford, Hants.
- 1962 MALCOLM, J. C. ST. A., ESQ., 1 Pensford Avenue, Kew, Surrey.
- 1945 MANGAKIS, D., ESQ., 4a Queen's Gate Place, London, S.W.7.
- 1962 MANN, DR. W. N., 90 Alleyn Road, Dulwich, London, S.E.21
- 1963 MANVILLE, MR. H. E., M.A., USIS, American Embassy, APO96352, San Francisco, Calif., U.S.A.

- 1954 MARTIN, MRS. J. S., Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, London, W.C.1.
 1958 MEER, MEJ. G. VAN DER., Isabellaland 1604, The Hague, Netherlands.
 1962 MILLER, DR. E., 117 Darras Road, Ponteland, Newcastle-on Tyne.
 1932 MITCHELL, D. D., ESQ., 19 Lime Grove, Twickenham, Middlesex.
 1954 MITCHELL, P. D., ESQ., 7 Bridle Road, Claygate, Esher, Surrey.
 1962 MONTROLL, MR. E. W., 4 Laurel Parkway, Chevy Chase, Md., U.S.A.
 1959 MORCOM, J., ESQ., Finstall Vale, Bromsgrove, Wores.
 1963 MORRISON, DR. A. W., 11 Hillcrest Road, Loughton, Essex.
 1959 MOSSOP, H. R., ESQ., Greenleaves, Marshchapel, Nr. Grimsby, Lines.
 1959 MULHOLLAND, J. H., ESQ., B.A., Strode's School, Egham, Surrey.
 1965 MURRAY, MRS. J., M.B.E., M.A., 13 Homecroft Drive, Uckington, Cheltenham, Glos.
 1965 MURRIE, MR. RICHARD M., 800 Second Avenue, New York 10017, N.Y., U.S.A.
 1965 MYGIND, S., ESQ., Coombe Meadows, Sunninghill, Berks.
 1957 NEWMAN, MR. E., 400 Washington Avenue, St. Louis 2, Missouri, U.S.A.
 1956 NICHOLS, D. C., ESQ., 2 Victoria Parade, Torquay, Devon.
 1957 NORTH, J. J., ESQ., c/o Barclay's Bank Ltd., 56 Boundary Road, Hove, Sussex.
 1954 NORWEB, THE HON. R. H., 9511 Lake Shore Boulevard, Cleveland 8, Ohio, U.S.A.
 1965 O'HANLON, K. L. M., ESQ., c/o Messrs. J. M. Finn, Salisbury House, London Wall, E.C.2.
 1951 OSBORNE, B. R., ESQ., Central Pharmacy, Clare, Sudbury, Suffolk.
 1965 OWENS, T., ESQ., 8 Glamis Court, Ridgway, South Shields, Co. Durham.
 1954 PALMER, W., ESQ., 53 Woodland Way, Theydon Bois, Essex.
 1961 PARKER, DR. W. B., 29 Queen's Road, Wimbledon, London, S.W.19.
 1963 PARMLEY, MR. R. T., P.O. Box 364 Mt. Clemens, Mich. U.S.A.
 1946 PARSONS, O. F., ESQ., Boundary Cottage, Churchtown Lane, Hucclecote, Gloucester.
 1947 PECK C. W., ESQ., F.S.A., F.P.S., 31 Vineyard Hill Road, London, S.W.19.
 1944 PEGG, H., ESQ., 8 Devonshire Avenue, Beeston, Notts.
 1961 PICKARD, B. C., ESQ., c/o Westminster Bank, Winchester, Hants.
 1960 PIRIE, MISS E. J. E., M.A., F.S.A. (SCOT.), The City Museum, Park Row, Leeds, L.
 1955 PITCHFORK, W. H., ESQ., Thurnholmes, Owston Ferry, Doncaster, Yorks.
 1957 POLLARD, J. G., ESQ., M.A., 17 Highworth Avenue, Cambridge.
 1955 PORTEOUS, J., ESQ., M.A., 39 Luna Street, Chelsea, London, S.W.10.
 1955 POTTER, W. J. W., ESQ., 5 Stafford Road, Paignton, Devon.
 1944 PRIDMORE, F., ESQ., 48 Priory Bridge Road, Taunton, Somerset.
 1946 PRIESTMAN, A., ESQ., Brougham, Penrith, Cumberland.
 1954 PURVEY, P. F., ESQ., 25 Ash Grove, Staines, Middlesex.
 1963 PYBUS, B., ESQ., Sherfield English, Romsey, Hants.
 1965 PYE, W. T., ESQ., 179 Gladstone Avenue, Wood Green, London, N.22.
 1963 RAYNER, P. A., ESQ., 34 Lea Road, Harpenden, Herts.
 1959 REKOFSKI, MR. R. R., 163 Lancaster Street, Kitchener, Ontario, Canada.
 1953 RICHARDSON, J. H. H., ESQ., 65 Lowther Drive, Oakwood, Enfield, Middlesex.
 1949 RIGOLD, S. E., ESQ., M.A., F.S.A., 2 Royal Crescent, London, W.11.
 1946 ROBINSON, E. S. G., ESQ., C.B.E., M.A., D.LITT., F.B.A., F.S.A., Iwerne Stepleton, Dorset.
 1946 ROBINSON, G. S., ESQ., M.A., B.M., B.CH., 3 The Elms, Sunderland, Co. Durham.
 1938 ROLFE, M. S., ESQ., 102 Ruskin Avenue, Southend-on Sea, Essex.
 1963 ROMBERG, MR. A. F., 6636 Belmont, Houston, Texas 77005, U.S.A.
 1963 ROUND, I. F., ESQ., 41 Bromsgrove Road, Romsley, Wores.
 1965 ROWE, G., ESQ., Lungdale, Kensington Avenue, Banbridge, Co. Down, N. Ireland.
 1953 SANDERS, P., ESQ., Thurlow, Munstead Rise, Godalming, Surrey.
 1964 SAWYER, P. H., ESQ., M.A., 4 Haddingley Terrace, Leeds 6, Yorks.
 1947 SCHNEIDER, MONS. H., 10 Place Léopold, Antwerp, Belgium.
 1948 SCHULMAN, MR. H. M. F., 545 Fifth Avenue, New York City 17, N.Y., U.S.A.
 1962 SCOTT, J. G., ESQ., Glenshiel, Chipperfield Road, Kings Langley, Herts.
 1926 SEABY, H. A., ESQ., 65 Gt. Portland Street, London, W.1.
 1945 SEABY, P. J., ESQ., 99 Mays Lane, Earley, Reading, Berks.
 1953 SEALY, D. L. F., ESQ., Flat 5, 69 West Hill, Putney, London, S.W.15.

- 1965 SEAMAN, R. J., ESQ., 19 Darenth Road, Leigh-on-Sea, Essex.
- 1954 SEED, W., ESQ., B.A., 10 Marine Drive, Bishopstone, Seaford, Kent.
- 1960 SELFE, R. J. M., ESQ., M.A., Rohilla, 18 Quat Goose Lane, Swindon Village, Cheltenham, Glos.
- 1959 SHARP, M. B., ESQ., 66 Hampstead Road, Brighton, Sussex.
- 1954 SHAW, J., ESQ., B.A., 3 Chatsworth Close, Southport Road, Chorley, Lancs.
- 1955 SHORTT, H. DE S., ESQ., M.A., F.S.A., The Museum, St. Anne Street, Salisbury, Wilts.
- 1964 SHOWERING, K., ESQ., 16 Belgrave Mews West, London, S.W.1.
- 1963 SLATER, G. B., ESQ., Pipers, Barrack Road, Bexhill-on-Sea, Sussex.
- 1946 SLAYTER, W., ESQ., 63 West Way, Edgware, Middlesex.
- 1959 SMART, MRS. V. J., 4 Drumcarrow Crescent, Strathkiness, St. Andrews, Fife.
- 1965 SMITH, E., ESQ., 18 Church Street, Gainsborough, Lincs.
- 1958 SNELLENBURG, MR. H. H. JNR., 1446 Gunpowder Road, Rydal, Pa., U.S.A.
- 1941 SPINK, D. F., ESQ., 5 King Street, London, S.W.1.
- 1965 SPRING, MR. B., 945 Charland Avenue, New Westminster, B.C., Canada.
- 1952 SPUFFORD, P. ESQ., M.A., Department of History, The University, Keele, Staffs.
- 1959* STENTON, PROFESSOR SIR FRANK, M. D.LITT., LITT.D., LL.D., F.B.A., Whitley Park Farm, Reading, Berks.
- 1952 STEWART, B. H. I. H., ESQ., M.A., F.S.A., (SCOT.), Camlet House, Hadley Wood, Herts.
- 1964 STEWART, MRS. D. E., Mount Pleasant, Bathurst, New South Wales, Australia.
- 1958 STILES, P. L., ESQ., Morar, Brooklands Lane, Torquay, Devon.
- 1958 STONE, A. G., ESQ., F.R.G.S., 44 Lowther Drive, Enfield, Middlesex.
- 1945 STONE, H., ESQ., Blickling, 67 Brookmans Avenue, Brookmans Park, Hatfield, Herts.
- 1962 STRIDE, H. G., ESQ., O.B.E., I.S.O., 2 Raeburn Avenue, Tolworth, Surbiton, Surrey.
- 1960 SWANN, H. S., ESQ., Houghton, Heddon-on-the-Wall, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
- 1963 SZAUER, E., ESQ., 69 Grace Park Terrace, Drumcondra, Dublin, 9.
- 1964 TARTAKOW, MR. E. A., 629 South Hill Street, Los Angeles 14, Cal., U.S.A.
- 1954 TATLER, G. L. V., ESQ., 30 Stamford Brook Road, London, W.6.
- 1959 TAYLOR, R., ESQ., Black Gate Museum, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
- 1956 TEASDILL, C., ESQ., Brynnyth, 17 Windmill Lane, Upper Batley Lane, Batley, Yorks.
- 1946 THOMPSON, J. D. A., ESQ., Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
- 1964 THOMPSON, R. H., ESQ., 102 College Hill Road, Harrow Weald, Middlesex.
- 1960 THOMSON, MR. C. D., 8615 Indian Hill Road, Cincinnati, Ohio, U.S.A.
- 1962 TURNER, N. F., ESQ., F.C.A., 21 Vernon Road, Leigh-on-Sea, Essex.
- 1965 VAN COLLE, H., ESQ., 9 Mayfields Close, Wembley Park, Middlesex.
- 1965 VAN DE BRAKE, MR. R. J., College Park, Maryville, Missouri, U.S.A.
- 1956 VERNON, P. H., ESQ., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., 4 Furze Lane, Purley, Surrey.
- 1956 VORLEY, D. G. D., ESQ., 1 Castle Road, Sandgate, Folkestone.
- 1944 WALLACE, J. ESQ., Beacon Cottage, 96 High Street, Blakeney, Holt, Norfolk.
- 1950 WEIBEL, J., ESQ., 85 Clare Court, Judd Street, London, W.C.1.
- 1945 WEST, A. J., ESQ., Springfield, Bookham, Surrey.
- 1959 WHEELER, J. D., ESQ., Heath Road, Thurston, Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk.
- 1946 WHETMORE, S. A. H., ESQ., 4 Sydney House, Bedford Park, London, W.4.
- 1958 WHITELOCK, PROFESSOR DOROTHY, F.B.A., Newnham College, Cambridge.
- 1953 WHITTINGHAM, R. D., ESQ., 1 Down Lane, Carisbrooke, Isle of Wight.
- 1954 WHITTING, P. D., ESQ., G.M., B.A., 9 Rivercourt Road, London, W.6.
- 1962 WIGLEY, J. R., ESQ., B.A., Hunters Dale, 164 Darland Avenue, Gillingham, Kent.
- 1965 WILCOX, C. L., ESQ., 23 Yurunga Street, Tolopea, New South Wales, Australia.
- 1964 WILSON, R. E., ESQ., 14 Walcot House, Walcot, Bath, Somerset.
- 1956 WILSON, W. MCK., ESQ., 31 Tilstock, Whitchurch, Salop.
- 1939 WINSTANLEY, E. J., ESQ., L.D.S., 117 Beach Street, Deal, Kent.
- 1952 WOODHEAD, P., ESQ., 12 West Common Road, Uxbridge, Middlesex.
- 1947 WRIGHT, L. V. W., ESQ., Little Stone Cottage, Womersley, Guildford, Surrey.
- 1953 ZACOS, M. GEORGE, Mercan Imamell Hau., no. 11, Istanbul, Turkey.
- 1960 ZIMMERMAN, MR. W. J., 205 East 63rd Street, New York City 21, N.Y., U.S.A.

JUNIOR MEMBERS

- 1962 ALLEN, MR. J. C., Saxon Down, Culfail, Lewes, Sussex.
 1965 BURROWS, MR. T. F., 19 New Road, Latchford, Warrington, Lancs.
 1964 COOPER, MR. T. J. H., 21 Hawkesfield Road, Forest Hill, London, S.E.23
 1962 COURTNEY, MR. S. T. E., 83 King Edward Drive, Grays, Essex.
 1961 FEARON, MR. D., Craigavad, College Road, Maidenhead, Berks.
 1961 FREEDMAN, MR. D. S., 6 Strathmore Court, Park Road, London, N.W.8.
 1963 GREENAWAY, MR. J., Dunmore, Four Elms, Edenbridge, Kent.
 1965 HALL, MR. WILLIAM, The Manse, Strathkinness, St. Andrews, Fife.
 1964 HARDWICK, MR. S. C., 107 Valentine Court, Forest Hill, London, S.E.23.
 1963 HERZ, MR. H. W., 1201 South Arlington Avenue, Reno, Nevada, U.S.A.
 1964 HOOKE, MR. I. H. T., 1 Woodbury Park Gardens, Tunbridge Wells, Kent.
 1963 HYDE, MR. R., 87 Stanwell Road, Ashford, Middlesex.
 1964 JONES, MR. T. M., 9 High Street, Littlehampton, Sussex.
 1963 PAGAN, MR. H., Owlpen Manor, Uley, Glos.
 1960 QUAIL, MR. D. E., Pastureside, 1a Pasture Lane, Clayton, Bradford, Yorks.
 1959 REEVES, MR. R. A., Donabate, Lansdown Road, Abergavenny, Mon.
 1961 RHODES, MR. N. D., 28 Holland Park Avenue, London, W.11.
 1963 SHERLOCK, MR. D. A., Orford Rectory, Nr. Woodbridge, Suffolk.
 1963 SMITH, MR. R. I., Aynsone Manor, Cartmel, Nr. Grange-over-Sands, Lancs.
 1962 SPEAIGHT, MR. C., Campion House, Benenden, Kent.
 1963 THOMSON, MR. I. C., Flat 2, 20/22 Marine Parade, Hythe, Kent.

INSTITUTIONS, ETC.

- ABERDEEN, The Chief Librarian, The Public Library, Aberdeen.
 ABERDEEN, The University Librarian, The University, Aberdeen.
 ABERYSTWYTH, The Chief Librarian, The National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.
 ADELAIDE, AUSTRALIA, The National Gallery of South Australia, c/o South Australia House, 50 Strand, London, W.C.2.
 BASINGSTOKE, The Willis Museum, Basingstoke, Hants.
 BELFAST, The Chief Librarian, The Central Public Library, Belfast.
 BIRKENHEAD, The Librarian, The Central Library, Birkenhead, Cheshire.
 BIRMINGHAM, The City Librarian, Public Library, Birmingham 1, Warwicks.
 BIRMINGHAM, The Keeper, Department of Archaeology and Local History, City Museum and Art Gallery Birmingham, Warwicks.
 BIRMINGHAM, The University Librarian, Edmund Street, Birmingham 3, Warwicks.
 BOURNEMOUTH, The Borough Librarian, Central Library, Bournemouth, Hants.
 BOURNEMOUTH, The Librarian, Wessex Numismatic Society, Birch Lea, 31 Birchwood Road, Parkstone, Dorset.
 BRISTOL, The Keeper, The City Museum, Queen's Road, Bristol 8, Glos.
 BRUSSELS, BELGIUM, Le Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Royale, Rue du Musée, Bruxelles.
 CALIFORNIA, The General Librarian, University of California, Berkeley, California, U.S.A.
 CAMBRIDGE, The Director, The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.
 CAMBRIDGE, The Librarian, The University Library, Cambridge.
 CARDIFF, The Director, Department of Archaeology, The National Museum of Wales, Cardiff, Glam.
 CARDIFF, The Librarian, The Public Free Libraries, Cardiff, Glam.
 CHESTER, The Curator, Grosvenor Museum, Chester.
 COLCHESTER, The Curator, The Colchester and Essex Museum, Colchester, Essex.
 COPENHAGEN, DENMARK, Kong. Mynt- og Medaillesamling, Nationalmuseet, København.
 CORNELL University, The Library, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y., U.S.A.
 CROYDON, The Central Librarian, Town Hall, Katherine Street, Croydon, Surrey.
 DERBY, The Director, The Public Free Library, Derby.
 DUBLIN, IRELAND, The National Library of Ireland, Kildare Street, Dublin, 2.

- DUBLIN, IRELAND, The Royal Irish Academy, 19 Dawson Street, Dublin, 2.
- EDINBURGH, The Librarian, The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Queen Street, Edinburgh.
- EDINBURGH, The Keeper, The National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
- EDINBURGH, The Principal Librarian, The Public Library, Edinburgh.
- EDINBURGH, The Director, The Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh 1.
- EDINBURGH, The Librarian, The University Library, Edinburgh.
- EXETER, The Roborough Library, University of Exeter, Prince of Wales Road, Exeter, Devon.
- GLASGOW, The Librarian, The Mitchell Library, North Street, Glasgow.
- GLASGOW, The University Librarian, c/o W. & R. Holmes, 3 Dunlop Street, Glasgow, C.1.
- THE HAGUE, NETHERLANDS, Het Koninklijk Penningkabinet, Zeestraat, 71B, 's Gravenhage, Netherlands.
- HAMBURG, GERMANY, Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte, Holstenwall, 24, Hamburg, 36.
- HARVARD, U.S.A., Harvard University Library, c/o E. G. Allen & Son Ltd., 14 Grape Street, London, W.C.2.
- HELSINKI, FINLAND, Finska Fornminnesforeningen, Nationalmuseum, Helsinki, Finland.
- HEREFORD, The Chief Librarian, The City Library, Museum, and Art Gallery, Hereford.
- KENT, The Kent Numismatic Society, c/o Maidstone Museum, Maidstone, Kent.
- KETTERING, The Borough Librarian and Curator, Sheep Street, Kettering, Northants.
- LEEDS, The Chief Librarian, The Public Free Library, Leeds, Yorks.
- LEEDS, The Librarian, The University, Leeds, Yorks.
- LEICESTER, The Librarian, The Municipal Libraries, Leicester.
- LEICESTER, The Director, The Museum and Art Gallery, Leicester.
- LINCOLN, The Director, The City and County Museum, Lincoln.
- LIVERPOOL, The Librarian, The University, Liverpool 3, Lanes.
- LONDON, The Keeper of Coins and Medals, The British Museum, London, W.C.1.
- LONDON, The Director and Principal Librarian, The British Museum, London, W.C.1.
- LONDON, The Librarian and Curator, The Guildhall Library and Museum, London, E.C.2.
- LONDON, The Librarian, The Institute of Bankers, 10 Lombard Street, London, E.C.3.
- LONDON, The Chief Librarian, The London Library, 14 St. James's Square, London, S.W.1.
- LONDON, The Director, The London Museum, Kensington Palace, London, W.8.
- LONDON, The Honorary Secretary, The London Numismatic Club, 21 Vernon Road, Leigh-on Sea, Essex.
- LONDON, The Deputy Master, The Royal Mint, Tower Hill, London, E.C.3.
- LONDON, The Librarian, The Royal Numismatic Society, The Warburg Institute, Woburn Square, London, W.C.1.
- LONDON, The Librarian, The Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, Picadilly, London, W.1.
- LONDON, The University Librarian, Senate House, London, W.C.1.
- LONDON, The City Librarian, Central Reference Section, The Westminster Library, St. Martin's Lane London, W.C.2.
- LUND, SWEDEN, Lunds Universitets Biblioteket, Lund.
- MANCHESTER, The Librarian, The John Rylands Free Library, Manchester, Lanes.
- MANCHESTER, The Librarian, The Public Free Library, Manchester, Lanes.
- MELBOURNE, VICTORIA, The Librarian, The Public Library of Victoria, Swanston Street, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.
- MICHIGAN, U.S.A., Michigan University Library, c/o H. Sotheran & Co., 2-5 Sackville Street, London, W.1.
- MISSOURI, U.S.A., The Librarian, The University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., U.S.A.
- MUNICH, GERMANY, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Arciss-strasse 12, München 2.
- MUNICH, GERMANY, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Arciss-strasse, 8/1, München 2.
- NEW YORK, U.S.A., The American Numismatic Society, 156th Street, New York City, 32, N.Y.
- NEW YORK, U.S.A., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 5th Avenue & 82nd Street, New York City 28, U.S.A.
- NEW YORK, U.S.A., The New York Library, c/o B. E. Stevens & Browne, Ltd., 77-79 Duke Street, London, W.1.
- NORWICH, The Curator, The Castle Museum, Norwich, Norfolk.
- NOTTINGHAM, The City Librarian, Central Public Library, Sherwood Street, Nottingham.
- NOTTINGHAM, The Librarian, The University, Nottingham.
- OLDHAM, The Librarian, The Public Free Library, Oldham, Lanes.

OSLO, NORWAY, Universitets Myntkabinett, Frederiksgate, Oslo.
 OXFORD, The Librarian, The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
 OXFORD, Bodley's Librarian, The Bodleian Library, Oxford.
 PARIS, FRANCE, Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
 PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, Akademie Nauk, Národní, 5., Praha II.
 READING, The Chief Librarian, The Public Libraries, Reading, Berks.
 READING, The Librarian, The University Library, Reading, Berks.
 ROME, ITALY, Istituto Italiano di Numismatica, Palazzo Barberini, Via Quattro Fontane, Roma
 SAARBRÜCKEN, GERMANY, Universität der Saarland, Universitätsbibliothek, z. Hd. Fräulein Schaar-
 schmidt, Saarbrücken 15.
 SHEFFIELD, The Librarian, The University, Sheffield, Yorks.
 STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN, Kungl. Myntkabinettet, Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm Ö
 SUNDERLAND, The Public Library, Museum and Art Gallery, Borough Road, Sunderland.
 SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA, The Public Library of New South Wales, Macquarie Street, Sydney, N.S.W.
 SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA, The Fisher Library, University of New South Wales, Sydney.
 ULSTER MUSEUM, Stranmillis, Belfast 9, N. Ireland.
 UPPSALA, SWEDEN, Universitetsbiblioteket, Uppsala.
 VATICAN CITY, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican, Rome.
 VIENNA, AUSTRIA, Österreichische Numismatische Gesellschaft, Burgring 5, Wien 1,
 WARSAW, POLAND, Polskie Towarzystwo Archeologiczne, Zarząd, Główny, ul. Jezuicka, 6. Warszawa.
 WASHINGTON, U.S.A., The Library of Congress, c/o E. G. Allen & Son Ltd., 14 Grape Street, London W.C.2.
 WINCHESTER, The Curator, The City Museum, The Square, Winchester, Hants.
 YALE, U.S.A., Yale University Library, c/o E. G. Allen & Son Ltd., 14 Grape Street, London, W.C.2.
 YORK, The Keeper, The Yorkshire Museum, York.

INDEX

- Accounts, 194.
- Æthelred II, Ipswich hoard of, 34.
- first hand with left-facing bust, 37, 40.
- coins of exhibited, 186.
- Æthelstan, probable fourth Kentish mint of, 20.
- ALLEN, D. F., Celtic coins from the Romano-British temple at Harlow, Essex, 1.
- Ancient British coins from Harlow, Essex, 1.
- ARCHIBALD, M. M., Four 18–20th centuries hoard reports, 156.
- BLUNT, C. E., and R. H. M. DOLLEY, The Witchingham, Norfolk, xv–xvi c. (1805) hoard, 107.
- exhibits by, 185.
- elected honorary member, 186.
- Brady, B., elected, 185.
- BRAND, J. D., Another small parcel from the great Eccles find, 172.
- Some 'short cross' questions, 57, 70.
- exhibits by, 186.
- Burgundian double patards in late medieval England, 110.
- Bury St. Edmunds, 'short cross' coins of, 61.
- Bute collection, 53.
- Buxton prize, award of, 184.
- California, University of, elected, 184.
- Cardiff, earliest coin of, 170.
- CARSON, R. A. G., Two interesting site finds, 171.
- CHALLIS, C. E., Southwark mint, 1545–51, 135.
- Chester, Æthelred II coins of the 'hand' types, 39.
- repercussions on, of the Viking raid, A.D. 980, 39.
- Closed crown, symbolism of, 118.
- Cooper, F. R., elected, 184.
- Cooper, T. J. H., elected, 185.
- Cornell University Library elected, 184.
- Cunobelinus, coins of, 3.
- David II, find spot for noble of, 90.
- DOLLEY, R. H. M., A probable fourth Kentish mint of Æthelstan, 20.
- A small parcel of 'first-hand' pennies of Æthelred II from the 1863 Ipswich hoard, 34.
- Some misattributed *fleur-de-lis* coins of Harold I, 45.
- The 1961 find of 14th cent. silver coins from Mareham-le-Fen, Lincs., 83.
- Two neglected Northumbrian hoards of late 14th cent. gold coins, 90.
- Two further coins of Henry I from Llantrithyd, 169.
- DOLLEY, R. H. M. (cont.) John Walker, obituary, 181.
- elected corresponding member for Ireland, 184.
- and Miss E. J. E. Pirie, The repercussions on Chester's prosperity of the Viking descent on Cheshire in 980, 39.
- and C. E. Blunt, The Witchingham, Norfolk, xv–xvi cent. hoard (1805) 107.
- Duffy, W. C., elected, 184.
- DYKES, D. W., The coinage of Richard Olof, 73.
- Edward the Confessor, unpublished coin of Warwick, 187.
- III, coins of, found at Mareham-le-Fen, 83.
- — coins of, found at Brinkburn Priory, 90.
- VI, Southwark mint, 135.
- Fearon, D., awarded the Buxton prize, 185.
- exhibits by, 186.
- Finds (including single finds)
- (a) with *Ancient British coins*
- Harlow, Essex, 1.
- Haslemere, 186.
- (b) with *Anglo-Saxon coins*
- Ipswich (1863) (10th cent.), 34.
- Rome, Vatican (9–10th cent.), 7.
- Temple Guiting (8th cent.), 171.
- (c) with *English coins 1066–c.1603.*
- Abbey of Ines (13–14th cent.), 101.
- Athea (14th cent.), 100.
- Balcombe (13–14th cent.), 104.
- Beaumont (13–14th cent.), 85, 103.
- Beulah Hill (14th cent.), 103.
- Brinkburn Priory (14th cent.), 90.
- Brownlee (14th cent.), 104.
- Buttington (16th cent.), 152.
- Castle Enigan (14th cent.), 100.
- Castlewellan (13–14th cent.), 100.
- Closeburn (13–14th cent.), 102.
- Durham, 1 (14th cent.), 104.
- Durham, 2 (13–14th cent.), 102.
- Eccles (12th cent.), 172.
- Fenwick (14th cent.), 90.
- Great Lumley (16–17th cent.), 154.
- Hartford (15th cent.), 187.
- Hayling Island (16–17th cent.), 152.
- Holy Island (16th cent.), 151.
- Hounslow (15th cent.), 114.
- Hull (14th cent.) (imitative) 80.
- Isle of Man (12th cent.), 48.

Finds with English coins 1066-c.-1603 cont.

Kilgorman (15-16th cent.), 114.
 Knockagh (13-14th cent.), 101.
 Leeds (16-17th cent.), 153.
 Llantrithyd (12th cent.), 169.
 Lutton (16-17th cent.), 154.
 March (16th cent.), 152.
 Mareham-le-Fen (14th cent.), 83, 103.
 Montrave (13-14th cent.), 102.
 Mullynure Abbey (13th-14th cent.), 101.
 Redgorton (13-14th cent.), 105.
 Sandsfield (14th cent.), 85.
 South Shields (14th cent.), 103.
 Tullamore (14th cent.), 100.
 Witchingham (15-16th cent.), 107.

(d) with English coins after 1603.

Alpheton (19-20th cent.), 161.
 Castlederg (17th cent.), 173.
 Great Lumley (16-17th cent.), 154.
 Hayling Island (16-17th cent.), 152.
 Hoyland (19th cent.), 159.
 Leeds (16-17th cent.), 153.
 Lurgan (19-20th cent.), 173.
 Lutton (16-17th cent.), 154.
 Stewartstown (17th cent.), 173.
 Tadley (18-19th cent.), 156.
 Wisbech (19th cent.), 156.

(e) with Scottish coins.

Abbey of Ines (13-14th cent.), 101
 Athea (14th cent.), 100.
 Balcombe (13-14th cent.), 104.
 Balleny Townland (14th cent.), 94.
 Beaumont (13-14th cent.), 87, 103.
 Belford (14th cent.), 103.
 Beulah Hill (14th cent.), 103.
 Birse parish (14th cent.), 106.
 Bransholme (14th cent.), 104.
 Brownlee (14th cent.), 104.
 Carrickfergus (14th cent.), 101.
 Castle Enigan (14th cent.), 100.
 Castlewellan (13-14th cent.), 100.
 Closeburn (13-14th cent.), 102.
 Connaught (14th cent.), 101.
 Craigie (13-14th cent.), 104.
 Drumlanrig (14th cent.), 105.
 Durham, 1 (14th cent.), 104.
 Durham, 2 (13-14th cent.), 102.
 Edinburgh (14th cent.), 105.
 Fenwick (14th cent.), 89.
 Fortrose (14th cent.), 105.
 Hayling Island (16-17th cent.), 152.
 Holy Island (16th cent.), 151.
 Isle of Man (12th cent.), 48.
 Killichonate (14th cent.), 105.
 Knockagh (13-14th cent.), 101.

Finds (with Scottish coins) cont.

Lutton (16-17th cent.), 154.
 Mareham-le-Fen (14th cent.), 83, 103.
 Montrave (13-14th cent.), 102.
 Mullynure Abbey (13th-14th cent.), 101.
 Pettigoe (14th cent.), 101.
 Redgorton (13-14th cent.), 105.
 Rosemarkie (14-15th cent.), 106.
 South Shields (14th cent.), 103.
 Stewartstown (17th cent.), 173.
 Tullamore (14th cent.), 100.
 Tynron parish (14-15th cent.), 106.

(f) with Irish coins.

Abbey of Ines (13-14th cent.), 101.
 Beaumont (13-14th cent.), 103.
 Craigie (13-14th cent.), 104.
 Eccles (12-13th cent.), 172.
 Hayling Island (16-17th cent.), 152.
 Hounslow (15th cent.), 114.
 Knockagh (13-14th cent.), 101.
 Mullynure (13-14th cent.), 101.
 Stewartstown (17th cent.), 173.

(g) with Anglo-Gallic coins.

Beaumont (13-14th cent.), 102.
 Montrave (13-14th cent.), 103.

(h) with foreign coins

Balcombe (13-14th cent.), 104.
 Beaumont (13-14th cent.), 103.
 Castlewellan (13-14th cent.), 100.
 Clare (15-16th cent.), 114.
 Croydon (15th cent.), 115.
 Dunster (15-16th cent.), 114.
 Durham, 1 (14th cent.), 104.
 Durham, 2 (13-14th cent.), 102.
 Gomeldon (14th cent.), 171.
 Hartford (15-16th cent.), 114.
 Hayling Island (16-17th cent.), 152.
 Hounslow (15th cent.), 114.
 Hull (14th cent.), 80.
 Islington (15-16th cent.), 115.
 Kilgorman (15-16th cent.), 114.
 Knockagh (13-14th cent.), 101.
 Maidstone (15-16th cent.), 114.
 Montrave (13-14 cent.), 102.
 Mullynure (13-14th cent.), 101.
 Norham Castle (15-16th cent.), 114.
 Walton (15th cent.), 115.
 Wiston (15th cent.), 116n
 Witchingham (15-16th cent.), 107, 114.
 Wymondham (?) (15-16th cent.), 114
 Yarmouth (I. of W.) (15th cent.), 115.

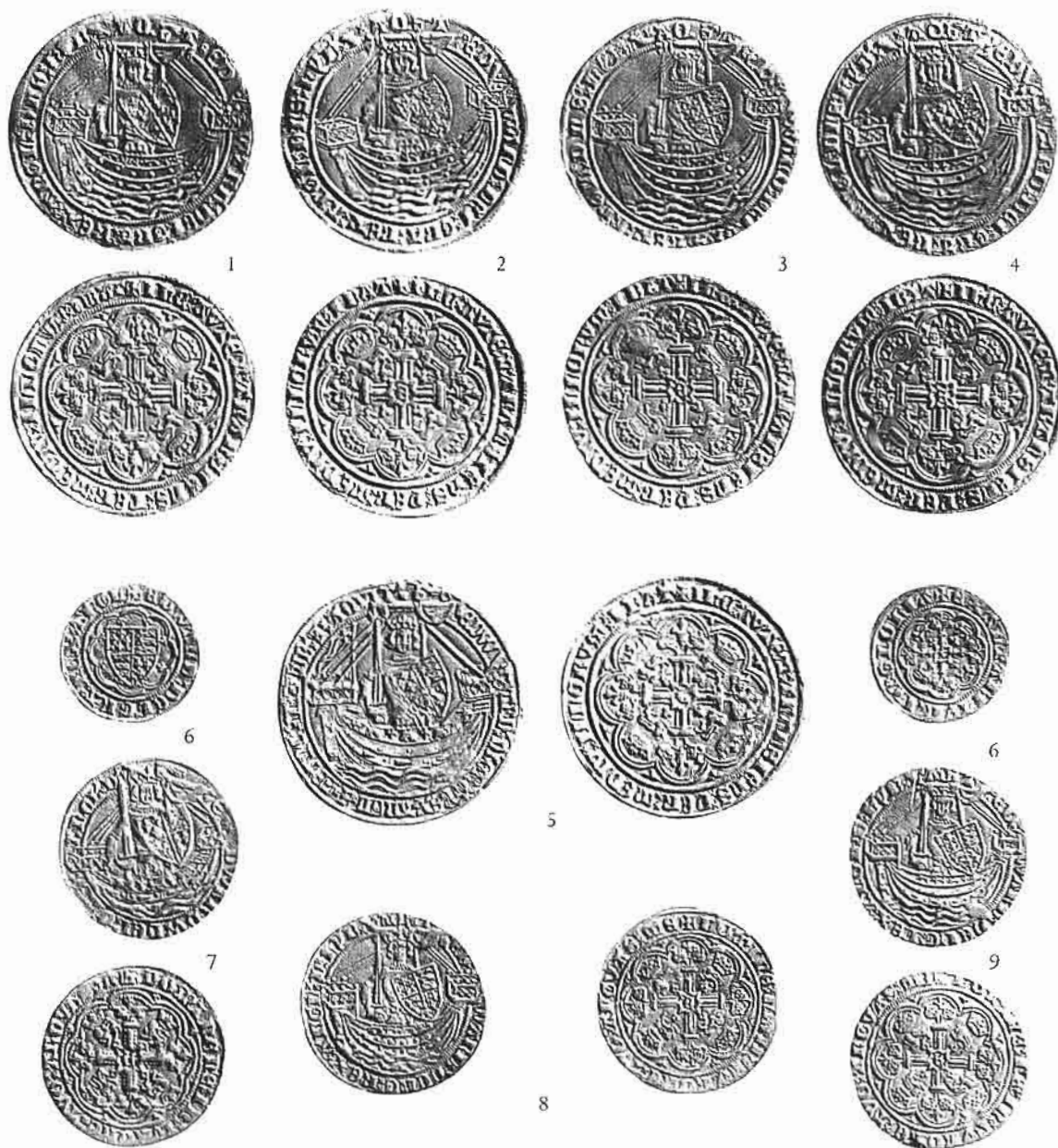
Freehill, M. E., elected, 185.

Gajl, J., elected, 185.

Galster, Georg, *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*,
Copenhagen I, reviewed, 176.

- Goodling, E. C., elected, 184.
 GRIERSON, P., The origins of the English sovereign and the symbolism of the closed crown, 118.
 — exhibits by, 185.
 Guernsey eight doubles of 1864, 164.
 Hardwick, S. C., elected, 185.
 Harlow, Essex, Ancient British coins from, 1.
 Harold I, some misattributed coins of, 45.
 Henry III, Irish 'long cross' coinage of, 73.
 Henry VIII, Southwark mint, 135.
 Hess, D. elected, 184.
 Hooke, I. H. T., elected, 184.
 Hull, 14th cent. deposit from, 80.
 Huntingdon mint, four 'new' coins of, 168.
 Inchiquin money, 141.
 Ipswich hoard, parcel from, 34.
 Ipswich, 'short cross' coins of, 62.
 Ireland, only gold coins of, issued 1646, 141.
 Irish 'long cross' coinage, 73.
 Izumiya, T. elected, 184.
 JONES, F. ELMORE, Norwich or Northampton—a 'short cross' problem, 70.
 — Four 'new' coins of the Huntingdon mint, 187.
 — exhibits by, 187.
 Jones, T. J., elected, 184.
 KENT, J. P. C., Hoard reports, Elizabeth I—Charles I, 151.
 — exhibits by, 187.
 KING, H. H., Coins of the Sussex mints—addendum, 168.
 Kunigisky, A. A., elected, 185.
 Lavertine, J., elected, 184.
 Lawrence, L. A., Society's medals presented, 184.
 Lessen, M., elected, 185.
 Lindlahr, V. H., elected, 184.
 Lippin, T., elected, 185.
 Lister, Major, exhibits by, 186.
 Lichfield, alleged 'short cross' penny of, 57.
 Loper, H. R., elected, 185.
 Lyme, mint of Æthelstan, 20.
 Lyon, C. S. S., exhibits by, 186.
 Mack, R. P., *The coinage of Ancient Britain*, reviewed 176.
 — exhibits by, 187.
 Maximilian, *réal d'or*, 118.
 METCALF, D. M., A 14th cent. deposit from Hull, 80.
 Millichamp, M. E., elected, 184.
 North, J. J., *English hammered coinage*, vol. I, reviewed, 177.
 Northampton, 'short cross' coins of, 62, 70.
 Norwich, 'short cross' coins of, 62, 70.
 O'DONOVAN, M. A., The Vatican hoard of Anglo-Saxon pennies, 7.
 Olof, Richard, the coinage of, 73.
 Ormonde, Duke of, gold coins issued by, 142.
 O'SULLIVAN, WILLIAM, The only gold coins issued in Ireland, 1646, 141.
 Oxford, 'short cross' coins of, 62.
 PECK, C. W., Presidential address, 188.
 PIRIE, Miss E. J. E., and R. H. M. DOLLEY, The repercussions on Chester's prosperity of the Viking descent on Cheshire in 980, 39.
 Pridmore, F., *Coins of the British Commonwealth*, reviewed, 179.
 Rochester, 'short cross' coins of, 64.
 Rome, Vatican, Anglo-Saxon hoard, 7.
 Sawyer, P. H., elected, 184.
 SEABY, W. A., Two small late 17th cent. hoards from Co. Tyrone, 173.
 — A 1918 silver hoard from Lurgan, Co. Armagh, 173.
 — and B. H. I. H. STEWART, A 14th cent. hoard of Scottish groats from Balleny Townland, Co. Down, 94.
 SEALY, D. L. F., The Guernsey eight doubles of 1864, 164.
 — exhibits by, 186.
 'Short cross' coinage, some questions on, 57.
 Showering, K., elected, 184.
 Shrewsbury, 'short cross' coins of, 60.
 Southwark mint, 1545–51, 135.
 Sovereign, origin of the English, 118.
 SPUFFORD, P. Burgundian double putards in late medieval England, 110.
 Stephen, unpublished Warwick coin of, 187.
 STEWART, B. H. I. H., An 18th cent. Manx find of early Scottish sterlings, 48.
 — and W. A. SEABY, A 14th cent. hoard of Scottish groats from Balleny Townland, Co. Down, 94.
 Stewart, D. E., elected, 185.
 Sussex mints, coins of, addendum, 168.
 Tartakow, E., elected, 184.
 Thompson, R. H., elected, 184.
 Vatican hoard of Anglo-Saxon Pennies, 7.
 Walker, John, obituary, 181.
 William I, unpublished coin of Warwick of, 187.
 Willis Museum, Basingstoke, elected, 184.
 Wilson, R. E., elected, 185.
 Wood, J. C., elected, 184.
 Youde, Major W. J. C., death of, 184.

PLATES



W. J. COOPER
BINDING & RESTORATION
OF BOOKS
01707 650443

